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THE ANGLO-SOVIET-AMERICAN ALLIANCE AND THE ANNIVERSARY OF JUNE 22

EARL BROWDER

SURPLUS DUPLICATE

JOHN L. LEWIS AND THE WAR

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

A BIDDLE'S-EYE VIEW OF THE WAR

ROBERT MINOR

THOMAS JEFFERSON—LEADER OF THE NATION

FRANK MEYERS

ON THE OCCASION OF DIMITROFF'S 60th BIRTHDAY

MAX WEISS

SPAIN AND THE SECOND FRONT

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THE COMMUNIST

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EDITOR: EARL BROWDER

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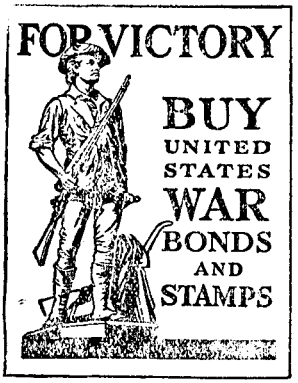

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THE ANGLO-SOVIET-AMERICAN ALLIANCE AND THE ANNIVERSARY OF JUNE 22

BY EARL BROWDER

THE article reprinted below, "On the Anniversary of the Patriotic War of the Soviet Union," was written on June 5 for the Intercontinent News. Five days later came the historic announcements of the Twenty-Year Treaty of Alliance between Britain and the Soviet Union and the new Agreement between the United States and the U.S.S.R., which established the relations between the two countries upon a similar basis as that which exists between the United States and Britain, and specifically pledges continued cooperation after the war. Both these epoch-making pacts agree upon the necessity of establishing the Western Front in Europe in 1942, that measure which promises the defeat of Hitler this year, and thereby makes the preparation for post-war problems a matter of immediate concern.

This Anglo-Soviet-American Alliance, to win the war and to cooperate with all the United Nations in the common tasks of reconstruction when victory has been won, was being completed on the very day the article below was written. Although the article was directed toward proving the necessity and practicality of just such a development, it is not rendered useless because that goal is now an accomplished fact even before the article reached print.

The fullest possible explanation of the historic necessity and value of these tremendous events is called for, as much after their formal consummation as before. For these pacts, powerful acts in themselves, set in motion an avalanche of events which will shape the destiny of the world for generations. Only with the unfolding of these events in the weeks and months to come will we begin to understand the full weight of the June 11 announcements. And only as we deepen our understanding of the historic forces which made the Alliance inevitable, and transmit this understanding to the broadest masses, will we begin to reap the rich harvest of a peoples' victory which the Alliance guarantees.

We can speak of the Alliance as a guarantee of victory, because it is a pledge of united struggle now of the three great peoples, with all their resources of men and material directed toward a common goal

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—the destruction of Nazism-fascism, the national liberation of all peoples and the establishment of a system of collective security to ensure a just and durable peace.

The people of this country, and most of the newspapers, have hailed the Alliance with deep enthusiasm. This is especially true of the trade union movement, which sees in the American-Soviet Agreement and in the Anglo-Soviet Treaty the means of defeating Hitler Germany in 1942 and of strengthening the ties of friendship and collaboration between our countries in the post-war period in the interest of safeguarding peace and the security of all freedom-loving peoples.

But it must be admitted that there are forces which do not join in this feeling. We cannot be satisfied with the manner in which this Alliance has been greeted by many great newspapers which represent powerful interests in the United States. These have shown a tendency to belittle the Alliance, to suck away its meaning with weasel words, to throw around it a cloud of poison gas compounded of all remnants of the old illusions, self-deceptions and enemy-directed thinking which caused this Alliance to come into existence too late to prevent the world catastrophe of this war and only just in time to snatch victory from the ape-man Hitler. The war has still to be won, and the fifth column, the bastards of the Munichmen, still to be cleaned out.

The people of the United States will take their full part in the great tasks before the United Nations. And they will rise to their tasks all the more quickly, when they know the full truth about these tasks, how difficult they are, the sacrifices they will demand, the full extent of the enemies who must be overcome. They will begin really to enforce that maxim, till now more honored in word than deed: "Everything for the war; everything for victory in 1942!"

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ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE PATRIOTIC WAR OF THE SOVIET UNION

BY EARL BROWDER

WE ARE approaching June 22, the first anniversary of the patriotic war of the Soviet Union to crush the Nazi bandit invaders, the enemies of freedom all over the world. The United States had committed itself to the war against the Nazis months before the invasion of the Soviet Union, but was then still under the illusion that it could limit its role to that of "arsenal of democracy," not understanding as yet the true relation of forces in the world.

But during the past year, and especially since December 7 and Pearl Harbor, the people of the United States are learning with exceptional speed. The blows of war are shattering the normal patterns of life, and with them those illusions, self-deceptions, and enemy-directed thinking, which for several years had blinded and paralyzed American democracy in face of the rising Nazi menace. The United States is now fully in the war until complete victory is achieved. The people and their best leaders begin to discern the preconditions of victory.

The patriotic war conducted so gloriously by the Soviet Union has exerted the most profound influence upon our country, its masses, its working class, and its leaders. The people were quick to draw two main conclusions after June 22: One, that a decisive change in the character of the war had taken place, that a "people's war" would inevitably and speedily overcome and eliminate the imperialist features with which the war began in 1939; secondly, that for the first time the perspective of military victory over the Axis forces became something more than an aspiration and hope. It was more and more clearly seen that only the neutrality of the Soviet Union had made possible the "non-belligerent" form of participation in the war by the United States, and that when that neutrality was treacherously violated by the Nazi bandits, by that fact America's full participation was made inevitable. After June 22, 1941, the "non-belligerent" conception, the role of "arsenal," was rapidly exposed as a form of self-deception which even reduced the "arsenal" features to insignificance in relation to the war's real requirements. The global life-and-death character of the war more

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and more became clear to the broadest masses and their leaders.

The magnificent achievements of the Soviet Union in the course of its patriotic war against the Nazi invaders aroused the people of the United States to intense admiration for the fighting qualities of the Red Army, the brilliance of its leadership, the awe-inspiring deeds of the Soviet partisans, the unheard-of economic achievements and the solid unity of the people behind the fighting lines.

Thus already in the first period of the war the Soviet Union performed the historic service to the people of the United States in that it destroyed the myth that had pressed so heavily upon them of the invincibility of the Hitler hordes, that myth which like a pestilence had so long paralyzed the spirit of so many democratic leaders.

When, from December onward, the Soviet forces brought the invaders to a halt, seized the initiative, and undertook the counter-offensive that for the first time drove back the Hitler bandits and sent them reeling, a new wave of admiration and love for the Soviet Union swept over America, accentuated by the harsh experiences of our own country in these first weeks of its own active belligerency. The Soviet Union was now being seen, for the first time, by tens of millions, in all the grandeur of the strongest fortress and first line of defense for civilization, culture and freedom for the whole world, not least for the United States itself. The aboriginal inhabitants of this continent, the American Indians, expressed the universal feeling of America when their Council named Stalin as "Chief Warrior"; General MacArthur spoke from the heart of his countrymen when, from Bataan, he hailed the Soviet counter-offensive as "the greatest military achievement of all time," and stated:

"The world situation at the present time indicates that the hopes of civilization rest upon the worthy banners of the courageous Russian Army."

For six months now the American people and working class have been face to face with the full problems posed by the war. As they have tackled these problems with American initiative and energy, they have also passed on from affectionate admiration for the Soviet Union to a more important phase, to a greater understanding of the role of the Soviet Union as a most valued and reliable ally in the United Nations, that this role is not an accident but was determined from its innermost nature and history. The American people now begin to understand that the official declaration of our Government that defense of the Soviet Union is vital to the national interests of the United States is a profound truth.

Most persons discovered this truth only at the time of the official declaration, but it is a truth that goes back into history with deep roots. The Russian Revolution of 1917 made a turning point in twentieth-century history comparable to that which the American Revolution made in the eighteenth

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century. Collaboration between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. has become a cornerstone of American thinking and national security. It is ever more deeply rooted in the hearts and minds of the American masses. The great stream of patriotism which sweeps the American people is indissolubly intertwined with the wave of love, respect and admiration for our great ally, the Soviet Union.

* * *

This is a description of the general trend of the American masses in relation to the Soviet Union. This great change has not, of course, been without its painful and difficult moments for some circles, which cling most stubbornly to ancient prejudices, and prefer to risk their own nation's destruction rather than admit they could ever have been wrong in the past. And it must be noted that a strong "Fifth Column" of Hitler sympathizers conducted and still carries on a most vicious and devilishly clever campaign to break up and discourage the growing collaboration and close relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. Sharp political outbreaks of the reactionaries, a dangerous defeatist line in a powerful section of the press, vacillations among honest leaders of the democracy, all serve to remind us of the lessons of our Civil War of 1861, and Lincoln's struggle with the Copperheads, that every war has its front against the enemy within, as well as that against the enemy without.

The Fifth Column has arguments and slogans for every group and every moment. Last June and July, our newspapers and military experts were almost completely under the sway of the Fifth Column, and declared that the situation of the Soviet Union was hopeless, that complete victory for Hitler was a matter of a few weeks at most. They drew the conclusion that it was foolish to try to join with or assist such a "weak" and "doomed" country. Their success in imposing these views upon large sections of our country for many weeks, revealed how our country suffered from the peculiar blindness of the realities of today's world, which blindness brought disaster to most of the peoples of Europe and to the whole world and transformed whole nations into Hitler's puppets. Later on, the Fifth Column unblushingly advanced the opposite arguments, that now the Soviet Union is doing so well, it is really unnecessary for the U. S. to do anything but sit back and gather in the fruits of the valorous deeds of the Red Army. But Soviet achievements, and the great awakening of the masses to the fact that they had been repeatedly duped and lied to, have combined to set back the Fifth Column quite decisively.

But it would be the greatest mistake to think that Hitler's Fifth Column has already been finally defeated and eliminated from American life. On the contrary, it is being mobilized at this moment for new and more desperate offensives against America's patriotism and war spirit. It launches new and

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more subtle conspiracies, in a mad determination to hinder, delay and sabotage the movement for all-out participation by the United States in the offensive to smash Hitler in 1942.

We can never forget that the Fifth Column and its dupes still occupy powerful positions. For example, a leading member of the Senate Military Affairs Committee openly declares his solidarity with pro-Hitler propaganda sheets which are in process of being closed up by the Government as treasonable. The House of Representatives has but recently voted confidence in Martin Dies, who demanded willingness to support war against the Soviet Union as a criterion of American patriotism. Many military experts still propagate the idea that the United States should join in the Second Front only when a decision of a final nature is approaching on the Eastern Front, and not to help determine that decision in favor of the common cause.

A new campaign of "Red-baiting" is launched through the country, coinciding with the action of the Argentine Government, which jailed pro-Roosevelt demonstrators and leaders as "Communists" as a prelude to proposing in a Pan-American Republics conference that a continent-wide "Communist hunt" should be organized. A section of the Catholic Church conducts an intensive "peace" campaign, using the recent appeal of the Pope. These are a few of the thousand signs of the Fifth Column hard at work in the United States. The modern Copperheads are numerous, active, and full of poison.

Most emphatically, however, national unity and patriotic enthusiasm behind the war grow broader and deeper each day. The demand for the Second Front, for the all-out offensive to smash Hitler in 1942, embraces ever wider circles of the population and becomes more insistent. And the working class more and more comes forward as the backbone of this patriotic movement which embraces all healthy elements of the population, as the main conscious driving power of the national unity headed by President Roosevelt as the unchallenged leader.

The patriotic efforts of the working class in production are already amazing the technical experts in the unprecedented and unexpected results. An interesting note on war production in *Business Week* for May 23 says, for example: "In less than two years we have been able to . . . convert this country's entire resources of material and manpower into battle equipment. . . . The surprise is the speed with which we are getting there. The potentialities of mass production have amazed even the experts of mass production. By comparison this country has never had real mass production before. The production men have always been limited by the market. Now for the first time we have thrown in the switch and left it in. And the rate at which we can chew up metal is like nothing on earth."

Two factors have made possible the amazing production records of

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our war industry. First, its release from the limitations of the market; second, that which *Business Week* overlooked, the enthusiastic participation of the workers and their powerful labor unions, fired with patriotism and deep hatred of the Nazi and Axis bandits.

* * *

The deepening of American anti-fascist unity behind the United Nations is exemplified in two important recent speeches of a programmatic character. Vice President Wallace aroused great attention and interest in the country with his declaration that this war is "a fight between a slave world and a free world," disclosing profound agreement with Stalin's characterization of the Nazis as a throwback to medievalism. He placed the present struggle in a historical perspective, in which the high points are the American Revolution of 1775, the French Revolution of 1792, the Latin American Revolutions of the Bolivarian era (early 1800's), the German Revolution of 1848, the American Civil War which abolished chattel-slavery, and the Russian Revolution of 1917.

Wallace rejected the imperialist slogan of "the American Century," and declared the coming period "can be and must be the century of the common man." He warned against the Fifth Column, which he said is preparing serious blows against the Americas, and called for its ruthless suppression. He declared: "There can be no half measures. The will of the American people is for complete victory."

Wallace's speech was an authentic voice giving expression to influential sectors of the broadest popular democratic forces of the American people.

Of equal significance was the speech of Sumner Welles, Under-Secretary of State, for he is generally looked upon as the authentic spokesman for the upper bourgeoisie and the "hard boiled" realists. His words were remarkable for many reasons, not least because of their unconditional affirmation of the right of self-determination for the peoples of "all continents." "Our victory," he declared, "must bring in its train the liberation of all peoples. Discrimination between peoples because of their race, creed, or color must be abolished. The age of imperialism is ended."

Welles recognized that the existence of the nation is at stake. He voiced unsparing criticism of past U.S. policies, declaring: "We were unbelievably blind." He recognized "a new and changing world." He denounced those who oppose the U.S. giving "our due share of sacrifice" as "enemies of the American people." He said this war, "a people's war," must result in "a permanent system of general security."

The two speeches of Wallace and Welles give expression to the true character of the war as one of national liberation. They agree upon certain main points around which the broadest democratic national unity can be and is being welded in the United States. They point to the possibility and necessity of extended

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collaboration of the United Nations in general, and specifically of the United States and the Soviet Union, as decisive not only for conducting the war to victory (which no one dares openly oppose now), but also for the reordering and reconstruction of the world after the war had been won.

The Wallace-Welles speeches greatly strengthen the immediate war effort, and point toward the all-out offensive to smash Hitler in 1942. They have nothing in common with certain Utopian speculations (fashionable in circles influenced by Trotskyism and other Fifth Columnists), which raise the post-war problems in a form designed to obstruct and disrupt national unity and the solidarity of the United Nations in the prosecution of the war to victory. Attempts to settle the questions of what social and economic system shall be in each country as a condition to supporting the war, are only a means to break up the solidarity required for victory, to dissolve the national unity which must transcend even sharp contradictions of interest. They can be used to set nations against one another, whose contributions are equally essential both to victory and to post-war reconstruction.

When fascism and Nazism, seized by the throat with the two hands of the Western Front and the mighty Soviet offensive, has its neck broken, when Hitler, Goering and their lackeys are thrown finally into the garbage pail of history, the freedom-loving nations will then find the way open to peaceful co-existence and collaboration in a system of general security and self-determination of peoples. To achieve this possibility, all else must be subordinated, and every necessary sacrifice must be made. It can and will be done.

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A HISTORIC STAGE IN THE STRUGGLE OF THE FREEDOM-LOVING PEOPLES*

THE negotiations in London, which formed a continuation of negotiations conducted in December 1941 in Moscow with Stalin participating, culminated on May 26 in the conclusion of a treaty between the U.S.S.R. and Great Britain of alliance in the war against Hitlerite Germany and her associates in Europe, and of collaboration and mutual assistance thereafter.

This treaty, which constitutes an important political landmark in the development of Anglo-Soviet relations, is of supreme international and historic importance for all freedom-loving peoples participating in the struggle against Hitlerite Germany. It meets the vital interests of these peoples from the viewpoint of immediate struggle, because it is bound to expedite the enemy's defeat. This is most vividly testified to by the fact that the negotiations in London and Washington resulted in complete agreement as regards the urgent task of the creation of a second front in Europe in 1942. At the same time the treaty lays the foundation for fruitful collaboration of freedom-loving peoples after the war.

The negotiations in Washington established the identity of views of both parties concerning the conduct of the war and also outlined the prospects of collaboration between the Soviet Union and the United States in the cause of ensuring peace and security for the freedom-loving peoples after the war. According to the Soviet-American communiqué, these negotiations resulted in complete agreement concerning the urgent task of the creation of a second front in Europe in 1942. At the same time measures were discussed aimed to increase and speed up deliveries of arms to the Soviet Union.

The Anglo-Soviet Treaty of May 26, 1942, confirming the well known Anglo-Soviet agreement of July 12, 1941, on joint action in the war against Germany, at the same time expresses and contains more than that agreement. The treaty will be of great importance for further strengthening friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Great Britain and also between these countries and the United States, and will ensure close collaboration among the U.S.S.R., Great Britain and the United States after the victorious termination of the war.

The treaty considerably widens the scope of Anglo-Soviet cooperation, which in the future will be

* An editorial published in *Pravda*, organ of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

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extended not only to the conduct of the war, but to all problems connected with the peace settlement, as well as to realization in the post-war period of the principles enunciated in the declaration made by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill on August 14, 1941, known as the Atlantic Charter, to which the Government of the U.S.S.R. has adhered.

The first part of the treaty, comprising Articles I and II, expresses the firm and unwavering will of both signatories to achieve by joint efforts and mutual support the accomplishment of the principal and chief task—the earliest defeat of Hitlerite Germany and elimination of the deadly danger hanging over all freedom-loving peoples.

The irreconcilability of the attitude of the U.S.S.R. and Great Britain in the struggle against Hitlerite Germany and her European associates in aggression and the close collaboration of the two countries are particularly emphasized by the fact that the treaty precludes any possibility of negotiating or concluding an armistice or peace treaty with Germany or any other state associated with her in acts of aggression in Europe, except by mutual consent.

There is no doubt whatever that such close collaboration and merging of efforts of the two parties will hasten the defeat of Hitlerite Germany, which presents the gravest threat to the life and existence of all mankind. This provides the most eloquent proof of the international and historic importance of the treaty and shows, as Molotov stated, that "it is not the people of he U.S.S.R. and Great Britain alone that need this treaty, but the peoples of other countries as well."

Part Two of the treaty, comprising Articles III, IV, V, VI, VII and VIII, outlines the prospects of post-war collaboraion between the U.S.S.R. and Great Britain, a collaboration which is bound to counteract all possible new aggression and to contribute to the re-establishment of peace for purposes of organization, security and economic prosperity in Europe. The broad scope and cordial nature of this collaboration are expressed in undertaking to render one another all possible economic assistance after the war and not to conclude any alliance or take part in any coalition directed against the other high contracting party.

The treaty's international and historic importance stands out in the second part as clearly as in the first. The U.S.S.R. and Great Britain not only declare "their desire to unite with other likeminded states in adopting proposals for common action to preserve peace and resist aggression in the post-war period," but undertake, pending the adoption of such proposals, all measures in their power to prevent a repetition of aggression and violation of the peace by Germany or any of her associates in acts of aggression in Europe.

The U.S.S.R. and Great Britain declare that in their common work and close and friendly collaboration, aimed at the organization of security and economic prosperity in Europe in the post-war period, they

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will take into account the interests of all freedom-loving peoples and will firmly adhere to two principles —not to seek territorial aggrandizement for themselves, not to interfere in the internal affairs of other states.

The treaty of alliance between the Soviet Union and Great Britain undoubtedly opens a new page in the history of international development. It rallies still closer the freedom-loving peoples united in struggle against Hitler's predatory imperialism, which carries violence, death and destruction to mankind. It deals the heaviest blow to the Hitlerite band and smaller marauders, its vassals. The treaty frustrates the hopes of the Hitlerite clique to split the ranks of the powerful anti-Hitler coalition. There cannot be the slightest doubt that it will cause confusion in the robbers' den of Hitler and his hirelings.

The historic treaty of alliance between the U.S.S.R. and Great Britain, as well as constantly extending and strengthening the cooperation between the Allied powers and the United States of America, will serve as a powerful stimulus for the mobilization of all forces of the participants in the anti-Hitler coalition for intensification of the heroic struggle waged by the European peoples enslaved by the German fascist invaders.

News of the conclusion of the treaty will be met with high satisfaction by the peoples of the Soviet Union, who will see in it fresh, vivid proof of Stalin's words to the effect that the international connections of our country have recently grown and gained in strength as never before. The treaty, signifying a further strengthening of the fighting collaboration of the freedom-loving peoples, will be warmly welcomed by the masses of people in our country where, under the direction of the great leader and strategist, Comrade Stalin, the Red Army is waging a heroic struggle against the German invaders, a struggle which evokes the admiration of all progressive humanity.

Grim days of violent, irreconcilable, merciless struggle are still ahead. The further rallying of freedom-loving peoples inspires us with full confidence that all difficulties will be overcome, and that, in the words of Molotov, "the time is not far off when our just cause will win final victory."

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STALIN ON THE ANTI-HITLER COALITION OF THE UNITED NATIONS

*From the Speech Broadcast to the Soviet People, July 3, 1941**

THIS war with fascist Germany cannot be considered an ordinary war. It is not only a war between two armies, it is also a great war of the entire Soviet people against the German fascist forces.

The aim of this national war in defense of our country against the fascist oppressors is not only elimination of the danger hanging over our country, but also aid to all European peoples groaning under the yoke of German fascism.

In this war of liberation we shall not be alone. In this great war we shall have loyal allies in the peoples of Europe and America, including the German people, who are enslaved by the Hitlerite despots.

Our war for the freedom of our country will merge with the struggle of the peoples of Europe and America for their independence, for democratic liberties.

It will be a united front of peoples standing for freedom and against enslavement and threats of enslavement by Hitler's fascist armies.

In this connection the historic utterance of the British Prime Minister Churchill regarding aid to the Soviet Union and the declaration of the United States Government signifying its readiness to render aid to our country, which can only evoke a feeling of gratitude in the hearts of the peoples of the Soviet Union, are fully comprehensible and symptomatic.

* Joseph Stalin, *The War of National Liberation*, Little Lenin Library, Vol. 28, International Publishers, pp. 15-16.

*From the Report to the Moscow City Soviet on November 6, 1941**

IT IS a fact that Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union have united into a single camp which has set itself the task of crushing the Hitler imperialists and their armies of conquest. The present war is a war of motors. He who will have the overwhelming superiority in the production of motors will win the war. If we combine the output of the motors of the United States, Great Britain and the U.S.S.R. we will have a superiority in motors of at least three to one as compared with Germany. Herein lies one of the bases of the inevitable doom of Hitler's robber imperialism.

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The recent three-power conference in Moscow with the participation of the representative of Great Britain, Mr. Beaverbrook, and of the representative of the United States, Mr. Harriman, decided systematically to assist our country with tanks and aircraft.

As is known, we already have begun to receive tanks and planes on the basis of this decision.

Still earlier, Great Britain ensured the supply to our country of such needed materials as aluminum, lead, tin, nickel and rubber.

If to this is added the fact that recently the United States decided to grant a $1,000,000,000 loan to the Soviet Union, it can be confidently said that the coalition of the United States, Great Britain and the U.S.S.R. is a real thing which is growing and which will continue to grow for the benefit of our common cause of liberation. Such are the factors determining the inevitable death of German fascist imperialism.

Lenin distinguished between two kinds of wars—wars of conquest, and consequently unjust wars, and wars of liberation—just wars. The Germans are now waging a war of conquest—an unjust war with the object of seizure of foreign territory and the subjugation of foreign peoples. Therefore all honest people must rise up against the German invaders as against enemies. Unlike Hitler Germany, the Soviet Union and its allies are waging a war for the liberation of the enslaved peoples of Europe and the U.S.S.R. from Hitler tyranny. Therefore, all honest people must support the armies of the U.S.S.R., Great Britain and the other Allies, as armies of liberation.

We have not and cannot have such war aims as the seizure of foreign territories, the subjugation of foreign peoples, regardless of whether it concerns peoples and territories of Europe or peoples and territories of Asia, including Iran. Our first aim consists in liberating our territory and our peoples from the German fascist yoke.

We have not and cannot have such war aims as imposing our will and our regime on the Slavs and other enslaved peoples of Europe who are awaiting our aid. Our aid consists in assisting these people in their liberation struggle against Hitler tyranny and then setting them free to rule on their own land as they desire. No intervention whatever in the internal affairs of other peoples!

But to realize these aims it is necessary to crush the military might of the German invaders; it is necessary to annihilate to a man all the German occupationists who penetrated our country in order to enslave it.

* *Ibid.*, pp. 32-34.

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*From the Order of the Day, On May 1, 1942**

AS FOR the international contacts of our country, these have of late become stronger and broader than ever. All freedom-loving peoples have united against German imperialism. Their eyes are turned to the Soviet Union. The heroic struggle which the peoples of our country are waging for their liberty, honor and independence evokes the admiration of all progressive mankind. The peoples of all freedom-loving countries regard the Soviet Union as the force capable of saving the world from the Hitler plague. Among these freedom-loving countries, the first place belongs to Great Britain and the United States of America, with whom we are bound by ties of friendship and who render our country more and more military aid against the German fascist invaders.

* *Ibid.*, pp. 51-52.

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JOHN L. LEWIS AND THE WAR

BY WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

IN THE maintenance and strengthening of national unity, indispensable for winning the war against the Axis, the organized labor movement has a vital role to play. As the main mass organization of the working class, the most clear-sighted and dependable anti-fascist section of our nation, they have to be the very backbone of our people's war effort in all its phases. The great bulk of the unions' members and leaders are actively supporting the Government, but sinister forces of defeatism within labor's ranks, the chief spokesman of which is John L. Lewis, President of the United Mine Workers of America, are seeking to confuse the workers regarding the significance of the war, to disrupt labor's developing unity, and generally to weaken the labor movement's influence in the fight against Hitlerism. Lewis is beginning to use the U.M.W.A., with its 600,000 members and its vast influence, as an instrument to sow chaos in the ranks of the workers and generally to undermine the nation's war effort.

Prior to America's involvement in the war, Lewis was affiliated via his daughter Kathryn to the notorious isolationist-appeaser America First Committee. When Hitler's legions crossed the frontiers of the U.S.S.R. on June 22, 1941, this action extended the war onto a world basis and at the same time transformed it into a people's war by the United Nations, a just war of national liberation. The only effect of all this upon Lewis, however, as upon the America First Committee appeasers in general, was to intensify his opposition to the war. Similarly, when the Japanese treacherously attacked at Pearl Harbor, Lewis, instead of rallying to the defense of his country, adopted the characteristic America First Committee line of lip service to the nation's war effort as a cover-up for a real policy of opposition to the war. From isolationism, he developed into defeatism.

True, Lewis has formally endorsed the war. But his endorsement has the same hollow ring as the stand of Hoover, Landon, Lindbergh, Norman Thomas and Company. Thus, at the June, 1942, Board meeting of the U.M.W.A., when Lewis was under heavy mass pressure because of his failure to back up the war, he made a long speech explaining why he had not been more active in the war effort, but he uttered not a single word in condemnation of Hitler. His state-

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ment of "endorsement" was simply to the effect that inasmuch as the country, against his advice, has got into war, he, as a loyal citizen, had to support it. Lewis' actual policies, however, give the lie to this thin gruel of an endorsement and are clearly of an anti-war character. His latest pledges of support for the war have no more sincerity than those he made right after Pearl Harbor. Philip Murray was 100 per cent correct when he stated in the recent sharp exchanges with Lewis that the very heart of their controversy was that he is for the war while Lewis is against it.

This emphasizes a first task that the coal miners face, namely, to put their great union squarely on record in support of the war. The rank and file should speak out clearly, repudiating the weasel-worded "endorsements" of John L. Lewis and let the whole nation know that the coal miners understand the menace of Hitlerism; that they are out to help destroy it root and branch in 1942, and that if Lewis does not like the pro-war line of action he is at liberty to devote his slippery services to other quarters where they will be more appreciated than among the workers.

It is characteristic of un-reconstructed America Firsters that they merely tip their hats to the nation's war cause and then proceed in various ways to block the development of the country's war effort. In carrying out this devious policy, Lewis has to operate especially smoothly. This is because the overwhelming majority of his membership are wholeheartedly in favor of the war, so that if they could perceive clearly the anti-war character of Lewis' policies they would soon remove him from his office as President. This cunning hypocrisy and double-dealing on his part make it doubly necessary that his various policies and activities be analyzed in some detail.

Lewis Wars Against the Roosevelt Administration

Whether one is for or against the war can be pretty much determined by his attitude towards the Roosevelt Administration and its policies. The simple fact is that the present Government, with the entire resources of our nation under its control, is waging a militant war against the Axis, and the whole complex of its foreign and domestic policies are directed towards the destruction of Hitlerism. President Roosevelt is in the realest sense the Commander-in-Chief of the American people in this just war. Hence all those forces out to destroy the Hitler menace must needs support the Roosevelt Government actively. The C.I.O., the A. F. of L., the Communist Party, and other pro-war groups and organizations are correct, therefore, in giving the present Administration, and specifically President Roosevelt, wholehearted support—of course, with constructive proposals and criticism.

The logical necessity of backing up President Roosevelt and his Administration in order to win the war is so obvious to the mass of the people that even those elements that are lukewarm towards the war, or

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even opposed to it, find it convenient to cover up their real policies with half-hearted endorsements of the Roosevelt Administration. Thus, the Republican National Committee, which certainly wears no medals for anti-Hitlerism, felt compelled to pledge support to President Roosevelt, as did also, with painful reluctance, Hoover and Landon, meanwhile keeping up their sniping at the Government's policies. The endorsement by Willkie, a real supporter of the war, was genuine, although marred by obviously factional criticism.

Now Republican John L. Lewis also finds it necessary to allow his *Executive Board to give a tongue*-in-cheek support to President Roosevelt. Nevertheless, his anti-Roosevelt position remains definite. For a long time before Pearl Harbor, as the country well knows, Lewis waged a violent feud against President Roosevelt. Organized labor believed the statement of R. J. Thomas, President of the United Auto Workers Union, made at the Executive Board meeting of the C.I.O. in June, to the effect that Lewis' endorsement of Wendell Willkie in the 1940 elections was coupled up to a proposition that he, Lewis, should become Secretary of Labor in the event of a Republican victory. And the American people also believed the assertion of Philip Murray that at the time of the C.I.O. convention in Detroit Lewis proposed that Murray join him in "fighting the foreign policies of the President of the United States." After Pearl Harbor Lewis, by his silence, deliberately allowed the country to understand that his opposition to the President still continued. Moreover, not only did Lewis not give support to the many war proposals submitted to Congress by the President, including the 7-point economic program, but his personally-controlled *Mine Workers Journal,* under the editorship of a cynical defeatist, has kept up a constant, typically fifth-column sniping attack against Roosevelt and his policies. Lewis' removal of Philip Murray from the office of Vice-President is designed to terrorize pro-Roosevelt forces in the U.M.W.A., which is another phase of Lewis' opposition to the *government. Lewis is further displaying* his opposition to Roosevelt by giving open or covert support to defeatist candidates in the developing elections. Thus, in Illinois Lewis' agent, Ray Edmundson, President of District 12, U.M.W.A., worked demagogically to help the defeatist candidate "Curly" Brooks, in defiance of the State A. F. of L. and C.I.O. bodies, both of which were supporting the win-the-war candidate McKeough. Likewise, in the Pennsylvania primaries, Senator James Davis, a defeatist who lost, was known to have Lewis' tacit support.

All this Lewis opposition to the Roosevelt Administration constitutes, in plain English, sabotage of the nation's war effort. It is aid and comfort to the fifth column, which means to the Hitler Axis. It also sacrifices the immediate economic interests of the miners; because only if the President's seven-point anti-inflation program is sub-

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stantially adopted can the rising cost of living be checked, and the miners be saved from a catastrophic drop in their living standards.

The coal miners should insist, by the action of their local unions and otherwise, that the U.M.W.A. nationally take a clear-cut position in support of the present Administration and President Roosevelt, who are commissioned by the American people to conduct the war! They should demand that their officials give whole-hearted support, not only in word but in deed, to the war policies of the Government, and they should see to it that in the developing Congressional elections the whole force of their union is thrown against defeatist candidates and in support of candidates who favor waging the war to victory over Hitlerism. The coal miners are overwhelmingly in favor of actively supporting the Roosevelt war Administration, and they should compel Lewis and his associates either to carry out their will or to give up their union posts.

Lewis Hamstrings the Battle for Production

Another test which shows that Lewis is actually opposed to the war, despite his weak assertions to the contrary, is his dubious attitude towards the question of war production. In this war, with victory so dependent upon the maximum possible production of war materials, it is the bounden duty of the trade unions to take a most active interest in production problems and to do everything possible to increase production. Both the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. are doing this. The C.I.O. especially has displayed great production activity. The invasion of the U.S.S.R. was leading inevitably to the full involvement of the U. S. in the war. In the months preceding Pearl Harbor, this fact was becoming daily more evident, and the C.I.O., nationally and its affiliated unions, carried on a big campaign for the Murray Industrial Council plan of joint Government-employer-union cooperation for increased production. The labor-management cooperation committees, later established widespread by head of the War Production Board Donald R. Nelson, after the United States had become a full belligerent, and which have greatly aided production, undoubtedly had their origin in the Murray Plan.

During this whole period, with both the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. profoundly active in regard to the question, Lewis displayed no visible interest in war production problems. Although the C.I.O. unions in the automotive, steel, electrical, metal mining, maritime, and many more industries all came forward with elaborate plans for increasing production in their respective industries, the U.M.W.A. was conspicuous by its silence. Its leaders produced no production plan for coal, nor did they join their voices with those other union leaders in the big struggle of mine labor and the Government to convert American industry from a business-as-usual regime to a war basis. Indeed, Lewis men acted on the argument that, since unemployment still persisted

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in the mining areas, there were no production problems in the coal mining industry.

Such a position, of course, had no more validity than similar claims by the business-as-usual managements of aluminum, steel and other companies at the outset of the war, that their existing facilities were adequate to meet the war's demands. The increased demand for coal to meet expanding industry; the drafting of tens of thousands of miners into the armed forces; the migration of large numbers of others into the steel, automotive, and other industries; the shortage of gasoline and oil, which is causing increased use of coal; the growing utilization of coal transportation, and very many other war-born conditions, show conclusively that there are real production problems in the coal mining industry. That, with the progress of the war, these problems will constantly become more intense, is indicated by the fact that in England the Government has been compelled to take over the operation of the coal mines. The Solid Fuels Coordinator, Harold L. Ickes, has already indicated many American coal problems.

At the June meeting of the U.M.W.A. Executive Board Lewis was under heavy pressure from the miners and from the public generally for his failure to support the war. He had therefore to cover up his war opposition with false pretenses along the Hoover, Landon line. Together with his formal endorsement of the war, he also felt compelled to depart from the untenable position that "there are no production problems in the coal industry." So his rubber-stamp majority in the Executive Board adopted a resolution dedicated in part to increased coal production; to produce, in fact, "enough surplus coal to bury the Axis powers."

The latter sounds very definitely pro-war, but the situation demands more than paper exhortations to the rank and file to produce additional coal. Nor is it enough to assert that the miners will remain loyal to the no-strike pledges given to the Government by organized labor in general.* What is absolutely needed is an organized approach to, and definite leadership in, production problems by the union. In the mining industry there should be set up labor-management committees along the line proposed by Donald K. Nelson. The unions should also display the initiative to work out a comprehensive production plan, formulated for the whole industry. The rank-and-file miners and those forces among the union officialdom who are genuinely interested in winning the war, should insist that these things be done. Then the Miners Union will begin to play a truly dynamic role in war production, which it is not doing today under the leadership of John L. Lewis.

* How Lewis actually looks upon the no-strike pledge may be gauged from the way the *Mine Workers Journal* handles the matter. It constantly hints that the war offers a favorable opportunity for strikes. In the December 15 issue, a week after Pearl Harbor, it condemned the statement by Sidney Hillman that "we can no longer have business-as-usual or strike-as-usual." In the February 15 issue, when the steel workers were in negotiation, the *Journal* declared demagogically that "the union shop, involving such big-scale employment, has never been won by mediation or arbitration."

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Inactivity on War Tasks in Mining Areas

A further expression of Lewis' failure to support the war is the notorious lack of organized civilian war work in large numbers of mining communities. In such areas the Miners Union bears a heavy responsibility for giving general leadership to the population in the organization of local civilian war activities of all descriptions. But no incentive for leadership of this kind has been forthcoming from the national office of the U.M.W.A. About the only sign it has given that it realizes a war is on is the issuance of desultory appeals to the membership to buy war bonds and stamps, an activity which could hardly be avoided in any event. As for the many other forms of war work—relief, civilian defense, salvage of materials, war propaganda, etc., practically nothing is being done by the Lewis office.

The miners, by their own initiative and by pressure upon their national and district officials, should put an end to this deplorable situation. In every community the Miners Union should take the lead in organizing the manifold war activities. This would enormously strengthen the war effort locally and at the same time enhance the prestige of the union. It is a matter also for cooperation by patriotic city, state and national public officials with the union. If Lewis refuses to mobilize the union in support of the war, the job will have to be taken in hand by the miners themselves. It is high time that the U.M.W.A. went all-out for the war.

Lewis' Red-Baiting Campaign

Another sinister sign of Lewis' anti-war attitude is his present campaign of Red-baiting against the Soviet Union and against the Communist Party. Find a fifth columnist and you will always find a Red-baiter. The aim of such people with this line is, on the one hand, to drive a wedge between the United States and her strong ally, the Soviet Union, by sowing slander and suspicion against the U.S.S.R., and on the other hand, to undermine national unity by raising the cry of Communism against everything progressive. This is the attitude of Hoover, Dies, Hearst, Fish, Gerald K. Smith, Father Coughlin, Norman Thomas and of every other defeatist in the country. It is the line that serves Hitler, because it tends to divert and break up the attack against him.

Lewis displayed his characteristic America First hostility towards the U.S.S.R. when, together with 14 Republican appeasers, including Hoover, Landon, Fletcher, Dawes, etc., he signed a statement condemning the alliance between Great Britain and the Soviet Union, made upon the occasion of Hitler's invasion of the U.S.S.R. This statement, which also condemned the extension of Lend-Lease aid to the Soviet Union, declared that "the Anglo-Russian alliance has dissipated that illusion" of this being "a world conflict between tyranny and freedom." If Mr. Lewis and his fellow Soviet-baiters have been less vociferous of late upon this subject it is because of the U.S.S.R.'s great popularity

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among the American people, who realize that the heroic fight being made by the Red Army is also the fight of the United States.

Lewis, however, feels freer to use the red herring of Communism in his striving to paralyze the war effort of the trade unions and the Government. At the June meeting of the Executive Board of the U.M.W.A. he loosed a blast of Red-baiting against Philip Murray, denouncing him as a "Communist," to provide a pretext for removing him from his office as Vice-President of the Miners Union, and probably finally to expel him under the anti-Communist clause of the U.M.W.A. constitution. The Board resolution stated "that the Executive Board demands immediately of Philip Murray, President of the C.I.O., that he at once publicly renounce his allegiance to and his support of Communism; that he discharge from the employment of the C.I.O. those Communists now on the payroll, and that he cease to employ Communists as agents and representatives of the C.I.O."

This resolution, which follows almost word for word the accusations made by Benjamin Stolberg and other professional Red-baiters against Lewis when he was the head of the C.I.O., is a masterpiece of insolence and cynicism. To assert that the lifelong Democrat, Philip Murray, is a Communist is ridiculous, and as for the matter of Communists being on the C.I.O. payroll, Murray exposed Lewis's demagogy when he stated: "every man on the C.I.O. payroll was put there by John L. Lewis and worked for him for nearly six years."

Lewis is an old hand at Red-baiting. Over a period of years he expelled several hundreds of militants from the union and the industry on charges of Communism, because they dared oppose his autocratic rule. For a time, during the formation of the C.I.O., he made a show of cooperating with the progressives and Left-wingers, knowing that the support of these militants was a fundamental condition for organizing the mass production industries. But now, to further his anti-war line, Lewis has recourse to the Hitlerite tactic of Red-baiting.

The miners should put a stop to Lewis's anti-Soviet policy. They should insist that the union give active cooperation to our nation's great war ally. As one important means for strengthening our people's relations with the Soviet and British peoples, the miners should put their union squarely on the record for American trade union affiliation to the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee. The miners should also end Lewis's anti-Communism orgy. They should not only support Murray against Lewis's absurd charges, but also insist that the U.M.W.A. be cleansed of the Lewis poison, of all union-disrupting, pro-Hitler Red-baiting.

Lewis' Pseudo-Labor Unity Drive

A menace to labor's growing solidarity and to the national war effort is Lewis' present demagogic campaign for so-called trade union organizational unity. His proposal that unity negotiations be resumed

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where they were broken off three years ago, a proposition for which Hutcheson has managed to secure the endorsement of the A. F. of L. Executive Council, would not lead to unity, but to deepening the division in labor's ranks and, therefore, to weakening labor's role in the national war effort. For there is not the slightest indication that the A. F. of L. leaders have yet come to the point where they are ready to recognize the right to existence of the C.I.O. industrial unions in the basic industries. Such negotiations as Lewis proposes, therefore, could not possibly settle the many jurisdictional claims of the A. F. of L. unions, but would only lead to another and worse stalemate.

Lewis' insincerity in his "trade union unity" campaign is emphasized by a number of other union moves of his, all of a disruptive character. Among these are the raids being conducted by his nondescript District 50, U.M.W.A., against the A. F. of L. Teamsters and Building Trades workers. Then there is his bizarre attempt to organize the farmers into the same District 50—a proposition which at once tends to create bad blood between the farmers' organizations and the unions, as well as to throw confusion in the ranks of the unions themselves. Finally, there is his deliberate attempt to split the C.I.O., by withdrawing the U.M.W.A. upon the basis of flimsy financial and prestige questions.

The response of the C.I.O. Executive Board, at its June meeting, to the Lewis-Hutcheson "trade union unity" proposals is sane and constructive. In substance, the C.I.O. resolution calls for:

a. The calling of a national Win-the-War conference by the combined Victory Labor Board, this conference to be made up of representatives from all A. F. of L. and C.I.O. unions and to take up such basic and immediate issues in connection with the war as increased production, political support to those candidates in support of the President of the United States and the war effort, and increased labor participation in the executive and administrative branches of the Government to assure labor's maximum contribution to the war effort;

b. The establishment by the Executive Council of the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. of a United National Labor Council, with "authority to formulate a program covering all issues which may in any way aid the cause of labor and the war program";

c. Cultivation by the United National Labor Council of A. F. of L.-C.I.O. cooperation in the various localities to facilitate the quickest possible victory over the Axis;

d. As mutual confidence develops in the United National Labor Council between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O., discussions shall be developed between overlapping unions with the end of achieving organic unity.

The C.I.O. proposals offer the practical way to mobilize labor's full strength here and now behind the war. They also provide the necessary elementary approach to organic trade union unity, being a continuation and extension of the

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healing process now going on between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O., and avoiding the dangers that would come from a breakdown of detailed negotiations over jurisdictional questions. They deserve full support of the labor movement.

To defeat Lewis' spurious "trade union unity" moves is the task of the labor movement in general; but the miners themselves also have a big responsibility in the matter. Among the things they should do to make their union the great force it should be for labor unity and for the maximum national war effort, are: (a) to give active support to the unity proposals of the C.I.O. Executive Board; (b) to block Lewis' attempts to disaffiliate the U.M.W.A. from the C.I.O. and to insist upon their union's regular payment of its per capita tax; (c) to condemn the removal of Philip Murray from his office as Vice-President and to bring about his reinstatement; (d) to discontinue U.M.W.A. efforts to organize farmers into its ranks; (e) to stop District 50's raids upon other A. F. of L. and C.I.O. unions; (f) to reorganize District 50, to transfer those workers not connected with the mining industry into unions corresponding to their occupations.

Where Is Lewis Heading?

Time was when the U.M.W.A. was the most democratic union in the U.S. But Lewis, with super-Tammany methods of control, has changed all that. He has choked rank-and-file democracy in the U.M.W.A. and today rules autocratically. It is this stranglehold on the great miners' union that makes Lewis, with his defeatist program, such a menace to the national war effort.

Lewis has many ways and means of personally dominating the national U.M.W.A. Grace to the undemocratic features of the union constitution, which he systematically caused to be inserted during many years, he exercises a tremendous delegated power of appointment and removal of union officials, and also an autocratic control over the union's huge financial resources. Upon his say-so rests the economic livelihood of virtually the whole officialdom of the union, including those officers elected by popular vote. Together with these regular official powers, he practices a few stunts of his own to fortify his position. Among these are the appointment of relatives to key posts, the use of plug-ugly "organizers" to control unruly rank and filers, etc. And past years have shown him to be cunning and ruthless in "constructing" union conventions and in manipulating union elections to his own advantage and to the detriment of democracy within the organization. But the most glaring example of Lewis' suppression of union democracy is the fact that 20 of the U.M.W.A.'s 36 districts (comprising 71 per cent of the union's total membership) have no regularly elected district leadership. They live under "provisional government," their officialdom being arbitrarily appointed by Lewis. This shameful situation, constantly growing worse, has existed for many years. It would seem to be high time

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that the working coalminers broke Lewis' tsar-like control over their union and livelihood, and that they took their organization back again into their own hands. Above all, the districts should be conceded the right to elect their own officers. Especially should the miners be on guard regarding the election (or hand-picked selection) of delegates to the union convention this fall. Lewis would not dominate a truly democratic convention, nor survive a free union election. Democratization of the U.M.W.A. is necessary, not only for the welfare of the coal miners, but also, in view of Lewis' defeatism, for the more vigorous prosecution of the war by the Government.

From the foregoing analysis of his policies it is clear that Lewis is not supporting the war. His whole line tends to weaken national unity and undermine our people's will to fight the Axis. At the same time, it endangers the unity of the labor movement, menaces American democracy, and sacrifices the economic standards of the workers. Philip Murray correctly characterized the U.M.W.A. president's policy when he stated that Lewis is "hell-bent on creating national confusion and national disunity," and "a danger to the security of our nation."

It is absurd to ascribe Lewis' reactionary course simply to an individual quarrel with Roosevelt, to thwarted ambitions, to personal resentment against Philip Murray. The real reason is political. Lewis is following out a defeatist policy towards the war. To this end, he is hooked up with the Hoovers, Landons, Hutchesons, etc., and it is no accident that Coughlin's *Social Justice* hailed him so enthusiastically. Lewis, like defeatist and fifth-column elements generally, is undoubtedly speculating upon a reactionary Republican victory in this country—through Hitler winning the war outright, through a disastrous negotiated peace, or through mass disillusionment after the conclusion of the war. It is a course that would lead to fascism. But Mr. Lewis and his defeatist cronies, who profoundly underestimate the economic, military and political strength of the democratic forces in the present struggle, will be utterly disappointed and confounded by the outcome of the war and the resultant peace.

Obviously, Lewis' reactionary influence must be combated in the labor movement and throughout the country as a whole. In the foregoing pages there have been indicated some of the measures needful for the miners in order to mobilize their union all-out for the war, to democratize their organization, and to protect their living and working standards. But the fight against Lewis is the task, not only of the miners, but of the entire labor movement. The trade unions of both the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. will do well to beware of the sinister combination of Lewis-Hutcheson forces, and to take steps to break it up. For this executive line-up bodes no good for the labor movement and for our country. The cracking of Lewis' control of the U.M.W.A. and the elimination of his influence in the labor movement are a major task in winning the war and of protecting American democracy.

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A BIDDLE'S-EYE VIEW OF THE WAR AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY

BY ROBERT MINOR

". . . the Marxian world-outlook. . . ."
"this doctrine of destruction...."
"this world plague." — Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, p. 202.

". . . the question of the future of the German nation is the question of the destruction of Marxism."—*Ibid.*, p. 203.

"Not the trade union movement is disposed toward class struggle, but Marxism has made of it its own instrument for class struggle."—*Ibid.*, p. 675.

"The Communist Party teaches the violent overthrow of existing governments, including the United States. This concept reaches back to the famous Manifesto of Marx and Engels of 1848. . . ."—Francis Biddle.

"The Third International advocates the class struggle. . . ." — Francis Biddle.

"The Marine Workers' Industrial Union was a part of the Communist Party dominated and controlled by it. . . ."—Francis Biddle.

"I concur in the finding, that affiliation with or membership in the Marine Workers' Industrial Union was grounds for deportation."—Francis Biddle.

WHEN Francis Biddle, as Attorney General of the United States, ordered the arrest and deportation of President Harry Bridges of the International Association of Longshoremen and Warehousemen of California, he admitted that the order was not intended to result in custody or deportation for the present time, and that his office was under no need to act at the present time, but chose to do so. The order was therefore intended only for some effect in the field of *morale* in relation to the war; and this effect could be none other than to hold before the eyes of all the peoples of the world, of China, of Australia, of occupied France and Czechoslovakia, a picture of the United States as being among the kind of countries that deport patriotic and courageous trade union leaders on the charge of being Communist.

Since the action of the Attorney General has been almost universally rejected by the American people and since a decisive victory for Americanism in this affair awaits noth-

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ing more than a still more vigorous and united patriotic protest and campaign, especially of the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. unions, we will not discuss here the aspect of the matter that relates to Bridges.

* * *

But we must discuss Mr. Biddle's espousal of a view similar to that of the present German government in regard to the role and activities of the labor movement in general and of the Communist Party in particular. Or, in a broader sense, it is a question of the historic role of the American nation among nations, in respect to the economic and political organizations of workers. For Mr. Biddle, so to say, "incidentally" to the order of deportation of the trade union leader, undertook to establish over-night by decree a conception of the character of the United States of America that would, if allowed to rest undenied, tend falsely to identify it with the wrong side of the gigantic world barricade that divides free peoples from the regime of Hitler.

* * *

On the morning of May 29, on which the United States began its part of the negotiations for the most momentous international agreements of all time, agreements looking to the life and freedom of this country and the world, Mr. Biddle caused to be published what purported to be an "administrative decision" (or, as it is more frequently expressed, an *aemtliche Befehl)* to fix the character, role and political program of the Communist Party and of the world outlook of the advanced workers of all countries, which is predominantly the outlook of Marxism. For on that morning Mr. Biddle published what he called a "decision" that:

". . . the Communist Party of the U.S.A. was 'from the time of its inception in 1919 to the present time —an organization that believes in, advises, advocates, and teaches the overthrow by force and violence of the government of the United States. . . .' "

This sort of "character," fixed upon the Communist Party by police-bureaucratic decree, independently of the party's will, Mr. Biddle and his advisers would have us believe, is a matter of "Marxian principle," and to prove it he evokes the Marxian classics in a way to shame the average storm-trooper in a campaign against "Jewish Bolshevism."

* * *

If we may forego for the moment the customary language of respect toward a Cabinet officer, we serve truth by saying that Mr. Biddle's statement is not an ordinary lie but a political forgery of far-reaching consequence and danger to the country in this moment when political lying is the most potent weapon of our country's military enemies.

Biddle has coined the false money that is most needed by the defeatists, who wish both to soften up our country and to defame its character among the common men and

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women, the workers of Hitler-occupied Europe and Asia, to whom the good name of America is a beacon in the hideous night. This is indicated by the fact that without a single exception every outstanding figure in the twilight of anti-patriotism, every defeatist journal that is engaged in the effort to undermine the morale and unity of our country, seized upon Biddle's decree of Hitlerian monstrosity with great eagerness; and otherwise almost every American has rejected it.

John L. Lewis, the most outstanding representative in the labor movement of the appeasement-defeatist forces in our country, gave quick circulation to Mr. Biddle's false money in his fight directed against the President of the C.I.O., Philip Murray, and against the alignment of the labor movement for the nation's all-out war. The Lewis resolution in the Executive Board of the United Mine Workers, five days after Mr. Biddle's *aemtliche Befehl*, argued that Murray by his very alignment with the patriotic and regular trade union forces is proven to be a "Communist," and denounced the leadership of the C.I.O. as being identified with—

". . . the principles of Communism, to wit, the overthrow of this government by force."

* * *

Are there others who find aid and comfort in the *biddlerische Befehl*—who buy bread with Mr. Biddle's counterfeit political money? Yes, there is George E. Sokolsky. We remember Mr. Sokolsky, as, indeed, posterity will, for his inspired formulation of the philosophy that Hitler wanted so much to have us adopt—that, for our country—

"It is preferable to go down to defeat than to be victorious as the little ally of the Russian Brute." (*New York Sun*, October 9, 1940.)

Which could only mean a preference to see one's own native land defeated and laid waste by a foreign conqueror, under the concrete conditions and relation of forces under which one must choose between victory and defeat. If, after the Pearl Harbor foretaste of what he considered "preferable" defeat, Mr. Sokolsky made a frightened half-retraction, the "official ruling" of Biddle gave the little writing man new courage to begin again his battle for the cause of "preferential" defeatism. For Sokolsky finds in Biddle's order a new inspiration to defend Hamilton Fish, friend of Hitler's agents Viereck and Auhagen, as against Congressman Vito Marcantonio, the leader of the American Labor Party and a fiery symbol of patriotism in America's war for survival, saying:

"The accusation that Marcantonio is a Communist is therefore not mine; it is made in the statements which I have cited, by the Attorney General of the United States, in an official ruling." (*New York Sun*, June 12, 1942.)

Biddle's false words, before they were two weeks old, were made use of in establishing the reactionary,

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Vichy-like position of the only purportedly working class political organization in America that preaches the defeatist creed in this war—the Socialist Party.

All who pursue the defeatist course find aid and comfort in this act of the Attorney General's office.

The reactionary Secretary of State of Ohio, Sweeney, seizes the entirely spurious "authority" of the Attorney General's *aemtliche Befehl* in respect to the character of the Communist Party, to declare that only the political parties approved by his administration can participate in the Ohio elections hereafter.

The jailing of men and women, including several of the foremost trade unionists engaged in stepping up war production, begins again in the great industrial region of Pittsburgh on the ground that many months ago they obtained signatures to place upon the ballot candidates of their choice under the name of Communist Party.

Much of the filth of the storm-troopers' cult is pulled down upon the head of America by the stupid and brutish action of Biddle.

What Biddle says of the Communist Party happens to be in exact accord with what is being said by the Nazi Propaganda Minister.

* * *

But everybody knows that Mr. Biddle would not take directly from the hand of German Nazis any sort of propaganda or subversive agitation or political philosophy.

From what intermediate source could it be that this current of agitation is made so useful now in the United States against the American war effort? Can we find its counterpart in some intermediate school of "theory" which perhaps might give Mr. Biddle's conception of what the Communist Party ought to be and by historic development must be accounted to be?

* * *

There is a "conception" of "Marxian principle" (God save the mark!) that fits like a glove the whole synthetic character attributed by Biddle to the Communist Party. But that is not the conception of a Communist. It is the conception falsely built up to fit the only purpose it serves—the purpose of those who most hate the Communists. It is the "conception" of the *agent-provocateur* engaged in war against the Communists and the democracy of the world.

It is the "conception" of Leon Trotsky and the Trotskyites.

Trotsky, by virtue of his profession as the highest of the high-powered *agents-provocateurs*, was the chief protagonist of the general "theory" under which, in any and all circumstances at any and all times since the Nazis took power in Germany, every susceptible dupe should be induced to advocate the overthrow by force and violence of every sort of government with the exception of that of Hitler.

It was precisely for the "offense" of refusing to subscribe to such monstrosity (which Trotsky in the pay of the Gestapo had transformed

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into the systematic crime of the *agent-provocateur)* that Trotsky denounced the Communists of the whole world in the effort to confuse and break up the workers' movement. The Communists were, said Trotsky, "betraying the revolution" to the "imperialists" when they pursued the policy of seeking a coalition of democratic states against the German and Japanese aggressors.

* * *

It is one of the minor coincidences that sometimes have a contributing effect upon the course of events that Francis Biddle has for a number of years found his orientation in regard to basic social phenomena in the writings and lectures of Trotsky's one-time literary agent and personal representative in this country, Max Eastman.*

Eastman, who now declares his disagreement with Trotsky, although he continues the same kind of denunciation of the Soviet Union, once wrote that Trotsky was "the most universally gifted man in the world today."**

The reader must not misunderstand. We do not mean that Eastman is an advocate of the views of Trotsky; he has long ago disclaimed them. What we mean is that Eastman has for many years been the "authority" among "literateurs" in this country for the false claim that Trotsky's "theory" and practice are those of Marxism.

It was Trotsky who, in fact, put forth in various forms the adventurist distortion of "Marxism" that included the idea that any attitude toward a government of a capitalist country otherwise than for its overthrow would be "betrayal of Marxian principle" and "desertion of the world revolution."

A classic example is to be found in that moment of history when Soviet Russia made a treaty of mutual aid with the French Republic in 1934 and tried to extend that treaty to Great Britain and the United States. We know that that treaty had a substance which was destined later to be achieved on a higher scale in the present agreements between the United States, Soviet Russia and Great Britain, as well as in the Pact of the United Nations that include China and a total of twenty-eight countries.

When in 1934 Litvinov made the proposal of a union or coalition or *entente* of nations against the intended aggression of the then newly founded Hitler state, the man who became Mr. Biddle's political guide, Max Eastman, branded Soviet Russia's treaty of mutual aid with France as a "crime of treason to Marxian principle."

We do not accuse Mr. Biddle of subscribing to the "principles" or practices of the Trotskyite movement, but it seems beyond doubt that Mr. Biddle accepts the claim of Eastman as to what body of political doctrine does in fact constitute "Marxian principle."

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* ". . . I took on the job of his [Trotsky's] literary agent as well as personal representative in this country. . . . I remember that two years of work. . . ." (Max Eastman in an article, "Leon Trotsky," in *Foreign Affairs,* January, 1941, p. 338.—The time was early in 1929, when Trotsky arrived at Prinkipo.)

** Max Eastman: *Leon Trotsky, the Portrait of a Youth,* New York, 1925; Preface p. v.

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Denouncing Soviet Russia's mutual aid pact with France and the action of the French Communists in approving the arming of France against Hitler, Eastman wrote:

"To 'vote war credits,' even after a world war began, was the crime of treason to Marxian principle which caused Lenin to abandon the Second International and the word *socialism,* and to form a Third for which he took the uncorrupted term *communism* from the banners of the civil wars of 1848." (Max Eastman: *The End of Socialism in Russia;* Boston, 1937, pp. 12-13.)

In fact Lenin's denunciation of the act of voting credits for the war of 1914 was *not* a denunciation of support for "*a* world war." Lenin's denunciation was, as he brilliantly explained, based upon the *character* of the war of that time as an *imperialist* war; and Lenin at the very same moment warned the labor movement that under certain conditions a quite different character of war might eventuate—a "national" war, a "war of national liberation," a war against an attempted conqueror of Europe—which he said should and would be supported by the whole world labor movement.

But Mr. Trotsky's former representative, Mr. Biddle's future mentor in "Marxism," gives it the sectarian distortion into "*a* world war." From such "little" distortions as this comes the Biddle monstrosity of "Marxian principle" that to support our own United States and its allies in "a world war" against Hitler is "treason to Marxian principle." So Mr. Biddle must insist (to the delight of the Fishes, the Sokolskys, the Peglers, the Dieses, and also to the Vierecks, the Auhagens and the Goebbelses) that "Marxian principle" requires that the Communist Party must not do its present job among the decisive workers of war production of supporting the nation at war, of welding labor and national anti-fascist unity, but must "advocate" the "overthrow" of the government.

But before we pass from the subject of "overthrow," let us remind you of the most concrete of all manifestations of Trotsky's view of the subject. The most particular illustration is Trotsky's preoccupation with the overthrow of that government which of all in the world it was most important to overthrow in order to secure the victory of Hitler — the government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Trotsky, as his instructions were given to Pyatakov and repeated in the confession of Pyatakov in 1936, told his followers in the U.S.S.R.:

"You must understand that without a whole series of terrorist acts, which must be carried out as soon as possible, Stalin's government cannot be overthrown." *

And as for a military alliance of the Soviet Union with the United States?

Mr. Biddle's teacher of political philosophy said such an alliance could only be an accompaniment of "degeneration of the governing strata in the Soviet Union,"** and denounced the prospective alliance

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* *Report of Court Procedure, Case of Anti-Soviet Trotskyite Center;* Moscow, 1937, p. 16.
** *The Revolution Betrayed,* p. 186.

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of the Soviet State with the United States.

". . . Litvinov announced in Geneva that the Soviets would abandon their anti-war alliance with the workers and oppressed peoples of the earth, and play the game of military diplomacy with the capitalist nations."*

Eastman said the policy proposed by Litvinov, which was one of collaboration between the Soviet Union and Great Britain, France and the United States, meant that

". . . Russia should abandon her alliance with the revolutionary working class movements of other countries,"

and for her to join the United States and Britain as in the present alignment, would be to

"join her old imperialist allies in the game of military power."

Mr. Eastman declares himself to be now in favor of the present alliance, while he engages in a furious denunciation of the Soviet Union that is in effect all that could be desired by those defeatists who know with Clausewitz that the victory of a coalition such as we now have with England, China and the Soviet Union "depends upon the cordiality of the alliance."

What of Patriotism?

Mr. Biddle ordered the deportation of one of the most effective patriots of the American labor movement (to whom membership in the Communist Party is attributed without proof and falsely) on the false ground that the Communist Party has now or is now engaged in "renouncing all patriotism."

Nowhere is this alleged "Marxian principle" substantiated by any serious authority. But Mr. Biddle's mentor Mr. Eastman has supplied a "source." Eastman undertook to establish that the Communists of Soviet Russia had become "Thermidoreans," had become traitors to what Mr. Eastman claimed was the cause of world revolution. Proof? The "proof" was to be found in an editorial in *Pravda* of June 9, 1934, which Mr. Eastman quoted in these words:

"For the fatherland! That cry kindles the flame of heroism, the flame of creative initiative in all fields in all the realms of our rich, of our many-sided country. . . .

"For the fatherland! That cry raises tens of millions of toilers to the defense of their great fatherland and puts them in fighting readiness.

"Millions and tens of millions of people acclaim in our brave fliers great patriots of their fatherland, for whom the honor, glory, might and prosperity of the Soviet Union is the supreme law of their lives. . . .

"The defense of the fatherland is the supreme law of life. . . .

"For the fatherland! For its honor, glory, might and prosperity!" (*Pravda*, June 9, 1934. *The End of Socialism in Russia*, pp. 13-14.)

Mr. Biddle's tutor Mr. Eastman said the *Pravda* editorial was an "affirmation of universal hysteric

* *The End of Socialism in Russia*, p. 12.

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passion for the fatherland"* entirely untrue to what Mr. Trotsky and Mr. Eastman called—and what Mr. Biddle now calls—"Marxism principle."

For Mr. Biddle, making Mr. Trotsky's and Mr. Eastman's conception the "official" view of the Attorney General's office, belies all of history with what is for our country at this time a deadly dangerous lie that the Communist Party is given to "renunciation of patriotism."

* * *

It was the great patriot Stalin who said:

"We don't want an inch of foreign land, but we will not surrender an inch of our own."

It was Mr. Biddle's "authority" on "Marxism," Mr. Trotsky, who replied with the cynicism of the dilletante or of the *agent-provocateur* that such was *"not the language of revolution,"* and exclaimed:

"As though it were a question of mere quarrels about a bit of land, and not of the world struggle of two irreconcilable social systems!"**

In his curiously self-exposing book *The Revolution Betrayed*, which Trotsky sent to the printer in 1936 before the public confessions of Pyatakov and Radek were made in the treason trials of January, 1937, Trotsky had written a thesis ridiculously adapted to his role:

"An unfavorable correlation of forces might compel us to surrender many 'inches' of land, as it did at the moment of the Brest-Litovsk peace, the Riga peace, and in the matter of the handing over of the Chinese Eastern Railroad."*

By its timely arrest of the underground gang of Pyatakov and Radek, as well as the Zinoviev and the Rykov and Bukharin groups of conspirators, the Soviet Government was enabled to liquidate the "unfortunate correlation of forces" which existed then in the form of a huge network of espionage and sabotage agencies established by these Trotskyite gangs in conjunction with the German and Japanese consular agencies throughout the Soviet country, through which it was intended to give "many inches of land" to the German and Japanese governments in exchange for help in overthrowing the Soviet Government. In their confessions Pyatakov and Radek told of Trotsky's meeting with Rudolph Hess and his contact "in time of war to develop extensive diversive activities in enterprises of the war industry and at the front" to be "agreed upon with the German General Staff." And the "many inches of land" that were on Trotsky's mind were given a name in Trotsky's letter to Radek (as reconstructed by the latter in his confession) which said that after the intended seizure of power through the planned murder of Stalin and other Bolshevik leaders—

"We shall inevitably have to make territorial concessions. . . . We shall

* *The End of Socialism in Russia*, p. 14.
** Leon Trotsky, *The Revolution Betrayed*, p. 192.

* *Ibid*, p. 193.

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have to yield the Maritime Province and the Amur region to Japan, and the Ukraine to Germany. . . .

"We shall have to yield the oil of Sakhalin to Japan and to guarantee to supply her with oil in case of war with America."*

There is evidently a difference of "opinion," or at least of practice, as to "Marxian principle" in regard to patriotism.

One might expect even a Philadelphia Biddle to be unhappy about this at the present time of its infinite danger to the United States, if one did not know what depths of cynicism, what nihilistic moods can be found among the declassed "*smart intellectuals*" *influenced by* the Trotsky cult.

How infinitely important it is for America to be warned against this poison, now that the very life of America depends upon the unity of the world for the destruction of Hitler! How necessary it is to understand the meaning of the confession of the despicable Radek that the Trotsky group made a compact with Hitler's agent Rudolf Hess, that the Trotskyite organization would—

". . . during Germany's war against the U.S.S.R. . . . adopt a defeatist position, to intensify diversive activities, particularly in enterprises of military importance . . . to act on Trotsky's instructions agreed upon with the German General Staff."**

* * *

More than eighty years ago the American people received proof of the Communists' understanding of patriotism in the best possible form —the form of military service in the armed forces of the United States on the battlefield. Today it is doing the same again. To show the complete consistency of this, let us trace the theme of patriotism and the various historic attitudes toward it, as developed in American history:

A century and a quarter ago the American naval commander Stephen Decatur composed the famous toast:

"Our Country! In her intercourse with foreign nations may she always be in the right; but our country, right or wrong."

Beyond doubt this slogan expressed magnificently the healthy patriotism of this young Republic at a time when it stood as the sole representative of human liberty, of revolutionary historic progress, against an otherwise unbroken background of decaying monarchies and more or less absolute tyrannies the world over. The young Republic, whether "right or wrong," was *per se* right; it incorporated all that was clean and free and growing in a world the best of which was destined to follow for another century the magnificent model set by the founding of this Republic.

"Our country, right or wrong" then meant on the lips of an American that, come what may, and no matter what the causes of conflict might be, the defense and survival of this modern world's only democracy represented progress and the

* Record of Court, p. 8.
** *Ibid*, p. 11.

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cause of all mankind. Under the conditions of that time, an Englishman could not rightfully have adopted that slogan on behalf of England in a *war against* the United States; Thomas Paine, the British subject, is honored for standing with Washington and Jefferson in their war of independence against Great Britain. Nor could a truly patriotic Frenchman have rightfully said "My country, right or wrong" in 1862 when the French Emperor Napoleon III sent an army to Mexico in the midst of the United States' war for its life against a slave power. The United States in 1812 represented, as Stalin said of Spain in 1936, "the cause of all progressive mankind."

"Right or wrong" the cause of this Republic was *right* because of the political content and its great historic meaning.

But in 1848 for the first time, a great American leader arose to question in the United States Congress the "right or wrong" of a war of the United States. Lincoln declared the war against Mexico to be an unjust war, unworthy of this country's great name and contrary to its interests. Considering that the war against Mexico was conducted in the interest of southern plantation owners seeking new slave territory, Lincoln was anticipating and foreshadowing the position of the nascent modern labor movement which was destined to introduce the distinction between a progressive and therefore just war, and an imperialist and therefore unjust war. Wars would never more be approached by the people from the point of view of disregarding whether they were right or wrong.

It is a curious coincidence that at the hour when Abraham Lincoln in the House of Representatives at Washington on January 12, 1848, was making his famous speech to the effect that "the war with Mexico was unnecessarily and unconstitutionally commenced"—Karl Marx was engaged in writing in London the manuscript of the "Manifesto of the Communist League," which Mr. Biddle considers his 94-year old authorization for deportation of labor leaders.

Marx wrote:

"The Communists are further reproached with desiring to abolish countries and nationality.

"The workingmen have no country. We cannot take from them what they have not got. Since the proletariat must first of all acquire political supremacy, must rise to be the leading class of the nation, must constitute itself *the* nation, it is, so far, itself national, though not in the bourgeois sense of the word."

Mr. Biddle finds in his breast an Eastmanic urge to declare that the *Communist Manifesto* was intended to have a meaning in application to the United States. Certainly not in the sense or spirit in which Biddle misinterprets it. But certainly it was applied in a completely different and true sense in 1861-65 with the utmost force and fury in the biggest war the world had ever seen. How? In the defense of the "cause of all progressive mankind"—the cause of the United States and Lincoln against slavery.

Only thirteen years after it was

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written by Marx and Engels the "forcible overthrow" of the most decisive of the "social conditions" retarding the progress of this Republic was accomplished in the United States by the United States Army and Navy. The Communist leader Engels even entered into the sharpest criticism of the "defensive" strategy employed by General McClellan, and worked out and published the whole basic outline of the offensive strategy that was later adopted by Lincoln and Grant and applied by Sherman in his "March to the Sea." The Communists were even more active than Mr. Biddle ever thought. Abraham Lincoln sent the official thanks of the President of the United States to the Communist leaders of the First International at London for the faithful support which they had aroused in all advanced countries of Europe for the United States. (See Marx and Engels, *The Civil War in the United States,* International Publishers, New York, 1937.)

When in 1941 the defeatist organ, the New York *Daily News,* decided it was necessary to seem to "come over" to the side of the United States in this war, and when it slily put at the top of its masthead the old slogan of Stephen Decatur, favoring "our country right or wrong" this was just another way of saying: "Our country is wrong: but of course we have to defend it anyhow—*or pretend to.*"

No. There can be no more slipping back from the position foreshadowed by Lincoln and expressed by Marx nearly a hundred years ago: Our country is right.

The Communist Party has never advocated the overthrow of the United States Government. On the contrary, we see it has a record of defending the United States Government on the one and only past occasion when its overthrow was attempted, in 1861-65. This, and not Trotsky's and Biddle's conceptions *à l'agent-provocateur,* is in accord with Marxian principle.

* * *

Let us look a little more into this matter of "overthrow," with a little glance backward into its history in our own country.

On January 12, 1848, the young Congressman Abraham Lincoln from Illinois arose in Congress to say:

"Any people anywhere being inclined and having the power have a right to rise up and shake off the existing government, and form a new one that suits them better. This is a most valuable, a most sacred right—a right which we hope and believe is to liberate the world. Nor is this right confined to cases in which the whole people of an existing government may choose to exercise it. Any portion of such people that can may revolutionize and make their own so much of the territory as they inhabit. More than this, a majority of any portion of such people may revolutionize, putting down a minority, intermingling with or near about them, who may oppose this movement. Such a minority was precisely the case of the Tories of our own revolution. It is a quality of revolutions not to go by

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old ideas or old laws; but to break up both, and make new ones." *

This is an expression of approval of a historical principle concerning the overthrow of governments by violent means; and might give Biddle an impulse to deport any aliens who might have friendly relations with the Republican Party of Lincoln. To save Mr. Biddle from making this error, we offer an explanation:

In 1848, when the question of abolition of slavery was conceived to be possible of solution only in a revolutionary conflict of the democratic masses against the government of this country—which was the orthodox view in the 1840's and '50's—the young Lincoln had reasserted the right of the people classically stated in the Declaration of Independence.

Also in Germany at the very same moment, in January, 1848, Marx wrote—even as Mr. Biddle has recently discovered—that:

"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions."

In the same year Senator Jefferson Davis of Alabama, representative of the slave-owner interests, spoke against the young Congressman Lincoln, and in favor of the taking of Mexico, "by right of conquest," claiming for himself the designation of "patriot" as against Lincoln. But who now doubts which of the two was the patriot?

Thirteen years later—in 1861—all three of these characters were brought into conjuncture again by the current of history—Lincoln, Marx and Jefferson Davis! Jefferson Davis, representative of the slaveholders, two years before had become the leader of, so to say, the "Dies" investigation of the activities of old John Brown. In 1861 he became the political head of the only effort ever made to overthrow the United States government by force and violance—as President of the Slave Confederacy. Colonel Robert E. Lee—who in 1859 was the captor and hangman of old John Brown—became in 1861 the military chief of a vast movement of rebellion seeking to defeat and overthrow the Republic of the United States and to establish upon its ruins a huge slave empire.

It was the good American revolutionist Abraham Lincoln who used the armed forces of the United States to strike down the slave rebellion. And it was the founders of the Communist movement, Marx and Engels, who became the thundering spokesmen and organizers of support for the United States throughout Europe and all advanced countries of the world.

In 1861 Lincoln naturally no longer used the formulation asserting the right of overthrow of governments; it was the slave-owners' representative, Jefferson Davis, who reached back into history to quote against Lincoln the speech Lincoln had made in Congress in 1848 say-

* Quoted by Alexander H. Stephens: *The War Between the States*, Vol. I, p. 520.

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ing that "any people anywhere being inclined and having the power have a right to rise up and shake off the existing government. . . ."

It was Marx who applied in the proper and only understandable way the "Marxian principle" of the *Communist Manifesto* to precisely the United States of America by aiding in the defense of the life of this Republic by a rousing of the labor movement of the whole world that supplies today the prototype of the vastly greater rousing of the workers of the much bigger world to defend the interests of democracy now against the new representative of slavery, Hitler. Yes, "the Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims." They openly declare their ends can be attained only by the forcible defense of the national freedom and independence of our American fatherland and its allies—in that manner by which the life of this American Republic was saved in 1861.

It is particularly necessary to make this clear to the peoples of occupied Europe where "existing social conditions" are the rule of the hangmen and slave-drivers of Hitler.

One must not lie, Mr. Biddle—at least not political lying in wartime.

None but a criminal in the employ of the Hitler reaction, or else an incredibly stupid dupe of such criminals, would try to make it appear that "Marxian principles" require anyone to "advise, advocate and teach the overthrow by force and violence of the Government of the United States."

* * *

Peasant soldiers fight in China, enlightened by the great Communist Party of China to understand that they have a fatherland for which it is worth while to die. A Red Army of millions of Russian trade union members and collective farmers has made and is enlarging "the greatest military achievement of all history" for a fatherland that is the most real thing on earth; the glorious Filipino troops fight and die with epic courage for what they know is their fatherland; and a gigantic army of Americans, working class boys and farmer boys and middle class and all classes, are learning to swear in their hearts' blood that all the inches of land of all the earth shall be free of all the Hitlers, all the Hitler's Quislings and Doriots and Trotsky-corrupted anti-patriots.

The American people must insist that the filth of the *agent-provocateur*, and with it all of the Goebbels-lying on the Trotsky model, shall be cleansed from American life.

Our country is right, and not wrong. And it is time to put an end to all lying about it either directly—or indirectly, by misrepresenting the position of a political party profoundly respected by vast numbers of American workers. Our country and its friends among the nations will win this war because it is a just war, a war of national freedom for all peoples, and the hundreds of millions of Europe and Asia and Africa and Latin America will line up with us

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because of that (in accord with their national interests) and for no other reason.

It is on the basis of being right—by which we mean by being in line with the interests of mankind and civilization and the Four Freedoms—that we have been able to achieve the great alignment of the nation's unified forces and of the democratic United Nations that assures our victory.

* * *

Not the least dangerous of the sectarian dogmas now being played with by Mr. Eastman's disciple in the Attorney General's office is the "official" view that, "according to the Marxists," there must be violent class conflict in the United States immediately on the close of the present war. We cannot help recalling Stalin's warning against Hitler's "policy of playing up the contradictions between classes in separate states"* at war with Nazi Germany.

In our country we have been working for many months under an accord of national unity for the winning of the war—a unity which has barred not only all violent class conflicts but also all strikes or other interruptions of war production. It should be noted that this is the first time in American history—or at least the first time since the moment that followed Lincoln's order to General Gillmore to settle the shipyard strike of 1863 by signing with the union*—that there has been an effective elimination of strike conflicts. That this has been attained in this war, though it was not effectively attained in the World War of 1917, is a fact related to the character of this *people's war.*

If the doctrine of class struggle is degraded into a dogma and interpreted to mean that support of "a" world war is "treason to Marxian principle"—that the saying that "defense of the fatherland is the supreme law of life" is (as Max Eastman said in 1937) "the slogan of all mad dogs of war"**—then of course the logic of it calls for the break-up of the national front now, and gigantic strikes as a matter of such "principle" must paralyze our military effort; and the Minneapolis Trotskyites who are now being so platonically prosecuted by Mr. Biddle's department must then be regarded as "Marxists." But to men who are in fact Marxists the doctrine of class struggle is not a dogma, not an idiot's formula for "playing up the contradictions between classes" in countries engaged in just wars, but is a scientific law to be applied as are all other scientific laws, as a primary means of analysis of the course of history.

In the sphere of international relations: Our country has just entered into an agreement of vast scope, under which we are not only to fight this war through to victory, but also to remain united in friendly collaboration with our allies after the military conflict shall have end-

* Stalin's speech, November 6, 1941; *The War of National Liberation,* International Publishers, p. 21.

* Sandburg: *Lincoln;* Vol. II, p. 621.

** *The End of Socialism in Russia,* p. 13.

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ed. A tremendous momentum is added to our immediate military hitting power by this extension of the perspective of collaboration into the period beyond the war: it gives us the consciousness that we need not be ready at all moments to jam on the brakes in the collaboration of the war to preserve our lives.

This is one of the most important aspects of the new agreements of the United States, the Soviet Union and Great Britain.

International relations are distinct from domestic relations, it is true. But the domestic situation no less than the world situation is decisively affected by the war; and any dogmatic assumption that the present understanding with the great and highly matured trade union movement for uninterrupted production must give way to violent class conflict during the readjustment at the end of the war would be the kind of stuff that is found in the speeches of Herr Goebbels but not in the scientific works of Marx. There is no reason to assume in the present world situation that the character of the "people's war" cannot extend into the readjustment after the war. It is true that history proceeds by violence; we are having that violence now, and I see no reason for Americans to assume that our country must be split wide open in violent forms of class conflict as soon as the present violence is over; such assumptions do not help toward victory.

Biddle took a heavy responsibility when he went out of his way to tell the world in which Marxian principle enjoys a growing prestige that "Marxian principle" calls for the rejection of all that is necessary to the victory. The interest of the country requires Mr. Biddle to give his efforts to a more courageous suppression of the fifth column, and the restoration, in the poll-tax states and elsewhere, of the democratic constitutional rights of citizenship and suffrage upon which we might dare try to depend for readjustment after the war.

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THOMAS JEFFERSON—LEADER OF THE NATION

BY FRANK MEYERS

OF THE great fathers of our country, there is none more representative, none more consistently the leader of the nation's democratic forces than Thomas Jefferson. Author of the Declaration of Independence and inspirer of the Bill of Rights, he was the captain of the struggle against Federalist monarchism and disunity and was the ideological chieftain of the nation in the Second American War of Independence, the War of 1812.

What lessons can we learn from his time and from his leadership for the tremendous tasks which face us today? One hundred and fifty years have passed. We live under very different social conditions, but we have much in common with those times. We today, faced with a historic crisis, realize the need of subordinating everything to the fight for the preservation of our national independence, which is the guarantee of the preservation of the democracy we have achieved and the basis without which the further extension of that democracy is impossible. The task today is that of rallying the whole people—the task that devolves primarily on labor as the backbone and driving force of the nation—for victory over Hitlerism through a concerted offensive on a Western European Front.

As today we, to preserve our own independence, must fight shoulder to shoulder with all who will carry the struggle against the Axis tyranny, and above all, with the Soviet Union, Great Britain and China, so in Jefferson's day, the United States had to make its alliances, to bind itself closely with the forces which were fighting against the enemies of progress, and especially with the militant democracy of revolutionary France.

Then, as now, the struggle had to be conducted against powerful enemies abroad and against defeatist traitors, their agents and abettors at home.

Democrat and Patriot

The understanding of that task and its relations to his ultimate goal of full democracy as he understood it, guided Jefferson's work throughout. All of the so-called "inconsistencies" and "weaknesses" which pigmy historians attribute to him disappear when his words and deeds are seen as a whole. The foundation

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of Jefferson's thought, the principle from which flowed all his actions, was his confidence in the people—his belief that all progress, all happiness for mankind, depended upon the freedom of humanity from tyranny, upon government by the people, government based upon the democratic expression of the will of the majority.

This he expressed a hundred times:

"I consider the people who constitute a society or nation as the source of all authority in that nation; as free to transact their common concerns by any agents they think proper; to change these agents individually, or the organization of them in form or function whenever they please. . . ." ("Opinion on French Treaties," 1793. Vol. VI, p. 220.)

Jefferson saw in his day and time the land as the foundation of economic power without which the people could not have democracy, and he placed his confidence in the widest ownership of it, the basic means of production of his day. Therefore, in accordance with the conditions of his time, he rightly looked upon the hundreds of thousands of small farmers as the backbone of the people, the shock troops of liberty.

His aim was democracy, the rule of the people, through the preservation of the democratic republic from subjugation by foreign enemies or usurpation by the clique of wealthy merchants, bankers and landowners at home — the "monocrats," as he called them. It was this which gave shape to Jefferson's policy in each epoch of his career. So understood, the "inconsistencies," the changing tactics of which he was accused, will be seen to be but the adaptation of action to changing circumstances, necessary to achieve his steadfast aim.

The Declaration of Independence

In the period of the Revolution itself, when, as still a young man, he served in the Virginia House of Burgesses, in the Continental Congress, and as Governor of Virginia, he stood among the first in shaping the course of the struggle for our independence. His instructions to the Virginia delegation to the Continental Congress foreshadow his epoch-making draft of the Declaration of Independence.

Drawing upon the most progressive thought of England and France, the advanced bourgeois revolutionary thought of the age, he gave to the Declaration the universality expressed in the resounding battlecry: "Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." The Declaration of Independence is no narrow bourgeois class document. It is limited by the period in which it is written, but it is inspired by the spirit of the broadest democracy Jefferson could conceive as the basis upon which a new kind of nation could be built. In the draft which he prepared there is another passage, a passage stricken out on the insistence of the delegates from South Carolina and Georgia and of the slave-traders of the North, which shows how far Jefferson, himself a slave-owner, went in the breadth of his understanding:

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"He [the King of Great Britain] has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of distant people, who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the Christian King of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where men should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative [veto power] for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce; . . ." (*The Democratic Spirit*, ed. Bernard Smith; Knopf, New York, 1941, p. 93.)

In his own state of Virginia, as a member of the legislature and as Governor, he was responsible for incorporating into the fundamental law a series of measures which laid the basis for the development of democracy: his laws against the feudal institution of primogeniture and entail; his law for religious toleration, which forced the separation of Church and State; his law on education, emasculated though it was before it reached final passage. Then and later he was an advocate of legislation for the restriction of slavery and for emancipation.

Prior to the adoption of the Articles of Confederation in 1781, Jefferson was a leader in the fight to force the big Eastern states to cede their Western holdings to the Federal Government. Jefferson hoped thus to wrest the West from the control of the slaveholders and merchants who dominated the state governments. When the big capitalist interests proposed holding the West as a colony of the Federal Government, Jefferson led the fight that defeated this policy of imperial expansion, and wrote the Ordinance of 1784, which determined that *new* states, equal to the original thirteen, be admitted to the Union as the Western land was settled. The adoption of this Ordinance determined the whole future policy of *democratic* national expansion.

Jefferson also introduced in Congress a bill to prohibit the expansion of slavery into any portion of the Western Domain, north or south. His aim was to make easier the total abolition of slavery in the Southeast as rapidly as possible. The defeat of Jefferson's bill and the adoption of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, which prohibited slavery north of the Ohio River but permitted it in the Southwest, made inevitable that expansion of the slave system which led to the Civil War. By this effort to restrict slavery to its existing territory, Jefferson enunciated the policy which so long afterwards became the official program of Abraham Lincoln and the Republican Party.

In the years following the victorious conclusion of the war the most serious problems faced the newly born nation. The thirteen states were loosely federated, with the central Confederation government almost powerless. On the one hand, the lack of a central government strong enough to protect our independence from Britain's continued plots and intrigues threatened dis-

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solution and chaos. On the other hand, a narrow aristocracy of merchants, bankers and big landlords, terrified at the democratic gains being achieved within the separate colonies by the forward surge of the farmers and artisans, were consolidating their ranks, under the leadership of Alexander Hamilton and John Adams, for an assault upon the liberties of the people. They saw in a strong national government the opportunity for the establishment of their iron control, perhaps under a monarchy. They took advantage of the real need for the consolidation of the nation to press toward their selfish, reactionary aim under the cloak of patriotism.

At this time Jefferson was abroad as Minister to France; but his influence was exerted from afar by letters to his numerous friends and colleagues in America. At his station in Paris he saw and sympathized with, and participated—to the degree that his position would allow—in the opening stages of the French Revolution. The forward surge of the French people, inspired, as he recognized, by the success of our Revolution, strengthened his belief in democracy.

Man of property though he was personally, he refused to allow his confidence in the people to be shaken, as was that of so many of his colleagues, by the revolutionary decisiveness of the French people against the restorationist forces who were leagued with the coalition of European absolutist states to crush the revolution, or by the militancy displayed by the democratic masses at home. Shays's Rebellion in Massachusetts, which had occurred in 1786—a rising of farmers and artisans against the aristocratic Massachusetts Constitution recently adopted and the ensuing wave of foreclosures and oppressive measures against debtors caused a very paroxysm of anti-democratic sentiment and action among many of the wealthy who had supported the Revolution but who feared the developing agrarian democracy.

Jefferson took his stand with the people. Characteristic of his comments, written to friends in America, is the following:

"The commotions that have taken place in America, as far as they are yet known to me, offer nothing threatening. They are a proof that the people have liberty enough, and I could not wish them less than they have. If the happiness of the mass of people can be secured at the expense of a little tempest now and then, or even of a little blood, it will be a precious purchase. *Malo libertatem periculosam quam quietam servitutem.* [Better the perils of liberty than the security of slavery.] Let common sense and honesty have fair play, and they will soon set things to right." (To Ezra Stiles, 1786. *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson,* ed. by H. A. Washington, Vol. II, p. 77. U.S. Congress, 1853-54.)

Jefferson—Supporter of Federal Union

Jefferson understood that for the preservation of democracy the nation itself must be preserved and that the establishment of a national government of strength sufficient to protect the nation was essential for

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that purpose. Therefore he supported the Constitution, fighting only to make it more democratic, particularly through the addition of a Bill of Rights. "I approved from the first moment the great mass of what is in the new Constitution," he wrote to F. Hopkinson in 1789. (*The Writings of Thomas Jefferson,* Ford ed., Vol. V, p. 75.)

From his first reading of the draft, he wrote assiduously to James Madison and others whom he influenced in America and was one of those who played an outstanding part in assuring the passage of such a bill. Already in 1787, in December, writing to Madison, he says:

"Let me add, that a bill of rights is what the people are entitled to against every government on earth, general or particular; and what no just government should refuse, or rest on inferences." (*Memoirs, Correspondence, and Miscellanies from the Papers of Thomas Jefferson,* ed. by Thomas Jefferson Randolph, Vol. II, p. 273-74. Charlottesville, 1829.)

And again in 1788:

"I sincerely rejoice at the acceptance of our new Constitution by nine States. It is a good canvas on which some strokes only want retouching. What these are, I think are sufficiently manifested by the general voice from north to south, which calls for a bill of rights." (To James Madison, 1788. Ford ed., Vol. V, p. 45.)

It is one of the saddest distortions of our reactionary historians (aided by the "economic determinist" school of Beard) that Hamilton, who was entirely opposed to the republican spirit of the Constitution and accepted it to use the Federal Government as a transition to monarchy, has gained the reputation of "Father of the Constitution"; while Jefferson, who was in substantial accord with its anti-monarchist spirit, seeing in the Constitution the vehicle for the development of democracy, has in many quarters the reputation of being its enemy. It is one of Earl Browder's great contributions to the revitalizing of the history of our country that he has opened the road to an understanding of the true relationship of the democratic movement to the Constitution.

Hardly was the first government under the new Constitution established, under the leadership of the victorious commander of the Revolution, George Washington, than the advocates of aristocracy and monarchy renewed their attack on the people. Pretending to be the champions of the Constitution, they systematically developed their campaign for the subversion of the Constitution and the establishment of a monarchy of the English type.

Jefferson, however, remained in the cabinet for over four years, despite the tendency of Washington's government to become more and more the engine of Hamilton's monarchical intrigues, for he felt that with Washington in the Presidency his own continued service there would serve to prevent the complete loss of confidence by the people in the federal union. On the other hand, while not himself playing a direct part in the war of press and pamphlets which was de-

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veloping, or directly organizing the democratic societies which grew up in opposition to the measures of Hamilton, he nevertheless became, through his personal influence, the focal center of the processes of consolidation of the scattered democratic forces of the country into the Democratic-Republican Party.

The monocrats were riding high, showing clearly that their only interest was their own enrichment at the expense of the people through the financial mechanism established by the adoption of Hamilton's method of funding the public debt, of taxation on the produce of labor, and of further centralizing wealth through the National Bank. The Federalists threatened the unity of the nation and its very existence by their economic attacks upon the people. It was becoming increasingly clearer that unity of the people against Federalist reaction was the only policy which could preserve national unity and thus save independence and democracy.

When the crowned heads of Europe marched upon the French Revolution and the great democratic wave of the French people smashed back at them in 1792 and 1793, the people of the United States wildly demonstrated their support for the triumphant democracy of France. The Federalists, on the other hand, saw in that great movement only a further threat to the aims of their class. The lines of struggle within America tightened.

It had become no longer possible to conceive of the preservation of the unity of a democratic country on the basis of the policies of a Hamilton. Jefferson left the cabinet and retired to his home in Virginia, redoubled the energy of his letter-writing and conferences, which were laying the foundations of a party of the people. While he remained as Secretary of State he had shown fully what his attitude was, what the attitude of a democratic nation should be, toward a people struggling for their freedom, when he wrote to Gouverneur Morris, the Minister in France in 1793:

"We surely cannot deny to any nation that right whereon our own government is founded, that every one may govern itself according to whatever form it pleases, and change these forms at its own will; . . . The will of the nation is the only thing essential to be regarded . . . we received information that a National Assembly had met, with full powers to transact the affairs of the nation, and soon afterwards, the minister of France here presented an application for three millions of livres, to be laid out in provisions to be sent to France." (Randolph ed., Vol. III, pp. 211-12.)

Jefferson's Internationalism

The real patriots of 1793 were internationalists. As Jefferson studied the most advanced thought of the whole world and applied it to the American situation, so he realized that the truly national interests of America demanded the closest association with every progressive force in the world; just as in our time patriotism to our country demands the strengthening of our alliance with the Soviet Union, Britain, China, and all the United Nations

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fighting against the tyranny of today. The revolutionaries of 1776 had succeeded upon the basis of their alliance with France and Spain; and in 1793 those who had remained faithful to the principles of '76 were the friends of revolutionary France.

Today such papers as the *Chicago Tribune* attempt to brand as unpatriotic those whom they call "internationalists," while they themselves pour suspicion and hatred upon all friends of our Soviet ally, whom they call "foreign agents" (yes, and of our British ally, too, whom they label "British agents"). Today they pursue a policy, formerly more open but since Pearl Harbor veiled, which is in effect one of aid and comfort to the greatest forces of reaction, the Axis rulers.

So, in his time, Jefferson was branded as a Jacobin, he was accused of being a French agent and disseminator of French "atheism, anarchism and immorality." Likewise the Federalists, while fiercely attacking the people for the tremendous demonstrations with which they greeted the success of the French Revolution and attacking all the friends of our ally as enemies of the United States, themselves looked for support to England, whose troops, quartered on our Western and Northern frontiers, were stirring up the Indians against the Western territories, and who was interfering with our commerce on the seven seas and plotting to destroy the independence of our country. The negotiation by a Federalist minister and the confirmation by a Federalist Senate of the infamous treaty of John Jay with England, which sacrificed every American interest to the partisan interests of the "monarchy men" and "Anglomen," as Jefferson called them, established once and for all the fact that the independence of the country demanded the driving of the Federalist leaders from the helm of the nation.

The struggle continued for five years. Jefferson, defeated for the Presidency by three electoral votes in 1796, became under the existing electoral laws the Vice President. He was the rallying center of the mounting mass movement, guiding it and strengthening it with his consummate political skill. No problem of organization was too detailed for his attention; to every corner of the country his correspondence went, knitting the scattered local parties, consolidating the people's power.

Against the rising power of the people the representatives of privilege unleashed every weapon in their power. These are the years which saw the passage and enforcement of the Alien and Sedition Acts, which made it a crime to criticize the Administration, however mildly, and which attacked particularly the tens of thousands of foreign-born among the Irish-Americans and the German-Americans who were flocking to the standard of Jefferson. Agents-provocateurs, packed juries, prejudiced judges and partisan judgments, mock trials and summary imprisonments swept the country. Distortions of every kind were used to stir up chauvinism against France, with the aim of waging a reactionary war and es-

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tablishing a military dictatorship under the leadership of Hamilton. This last provocation failed only because of the strength of the democratic movement, which, taking advantage of a factional feud between Adams and Hamilton, forced John Adams to establish peaceful relations with France over the bitter opposition of the Hamiltonian faction of the Federalist Party.

Despite demagogy and terror, provocation and martial law, the mobbing of prominent democrats and the imprisonment of editors and statesmen, the election of 1800 was a decisive victory for the people, with Jefferson elected to the Presidency *in a great wave of Democratic-Republican victories.*

The People in Power

The "monarchy men" were driven from the control of the state, and with this the backbone of their plot to destroy the democratic nations was broken. The consummate democratic statesmanship of Jefferson became apparent again. Determined to eradicate the evils of the Hamiltonian policy and to extend the control of the people, he nevertheless recognized that the danger to the survival of the Union was not wholly passed. He knew that the monocrats, defeated in open struggle for control of the country "legally" to destroy the republic, would pass over to every treasonable device to achieve their ends. "Rule or ruin" was their policy.

Against the treason of the monocrats Jefferson, as best he could, brought the full power of the state to bear, as in the prosecution of Aaron Burr for his plot to destroy the Union, and in the impeachment of Justice Chase, who had utilized the bench for the most unprincipled persecution of the people. But he differentiated between what he called the "monarchic Federalists" and the "republican Federalists." The latter he considered to be the great majority of the Federalist Party. It was his object to win their support for a united republican state, and it was this mass of rank-and-file Federalists whom he addressed when in his Inaugural Address in 1801 he said: "We are all republicans; we are all federalists."

Jefferson's policy of national consolidation on the basis of democratic advance was the decisive factor in guaranteeing the defeat of the series of plots by the monocrats to destroy the nation, through the next fifteen years—years that began with the conspiracy of their ally, Aaron Burr, and the plots of the Federalist Senator Timothy Pickering and his friends in conspiracy with the British Minister, and ended with their last great failure to bring about the country's defeat in the War of 1812.

The democratic measures of Jefferson's Administration—the reduction of taxes, the encouragement of the extension of the franchise, the curbing of the tyrannical power of the judiciary, the simplification of government, the easing of the way for the masses to secure free land in the West—all brought about a greater and greater advance of the people and continued unification of the country on a democratic basis.

To achieve this end he adopted all necessary means. Jefferson was

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no doctrinaire supporter of an abstract dogma of states' rights in and for itself. True, he did believe that in general the more powerful was local government and the less was the scope of central government, the greater the safeguard for democracy. But, when the people had driven the Federalists from the seats of power, he did not hesitate to utilize the central government in the interest of the masses of small producers to achieve great democratic aims. On the other hand, the Federalist leaders, who had seized upon the slogan of a strong national government as a weapon with which to achieve their hidden monarchistic aim, were quick to repudiate their supposed principle when the powers of the central government were used for the benefit of the people. In the ensuing years the most stalwart "strong government" men became the most ardent sectionalists, secessionists, intriguing for the separation of the New England states, where their wealth was centered and what influence remained to them existed. They blazed the path for reactionaries in every era of our national history: for the secessionists who fought Jackson's democracy in 1832; through the Southern slave-owners' war for slavery; to the anti-New Deal "states' rights" movement of the so-called "Jeffersonian Democrats" in 1936-37, and the efforts of the defeatists and their press aimed at the destruction of national unity today.

When the usurpation of Napoleon had brought a stop to the democratic progress of France and the revolutionary liberating mission of the armies of the French Republic, America was threatened by both France and England. Jefferson recognized that when the issue was one of survival of a democracy between two great dominating empires—England and France—the new and weak republic must find its allies where it could. In a letter to Livingston, written in 1790, when he was Secretary of State, Jefferson wrote:

"The day that France takes possession of New Orleans . . . seals the union of two nations, who, in conjunction, can maintain exclusive possession of the ocean. From that moment, we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation."

Thus, desiring to avoid war if it could be avoided, he sent abroad a mission to attempt to purchase the port of New Orleans. That mission, undertaken when Napoleon faced great difficulties in his war with England, succeeded beyond all hopes, and the U.S. purchased the Louisiana territory for $15,000,000. When the news was announced, rejoicing swept the nation. From the Federalist leaders and their press, previously so anxious for war to save New Orleans, came violent opposition and furious ridicule of this bloodless victory. Jefferson was castigated in every Federalist paper. Fifteen million dollars for "wild land"! Was it not time to rid ourselves of a government which "would run in debt for Mississippi moonshine $15,000,000"? (Quoted by Bowers, *Jefferson in Power*, p. 210.)

The National Government and "States' Rights"

Jefferson was conscious that this

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was the greatest accession of power that the national government had ever taken on itself. But the tremendous gain achieved, the winning of one-half of the Mississippi Valley and the securing of the other half, the guaranteeing of a great mass of land which could be the economic foundation of an ever-broadening democracy, was to him a more potent force for democracy than an abstract insistence on states' rights.

The Federalist leadership, however, the self-proclaimed champions of a strong central government, were shocked. Such unconstitutional arrogation of power to the central government! Senator Plummer, one of the leaders, was sure that this act of the government made it "optional with the older states as to whether they would longer remain in the present confederacy." *(Life of Wm. Plummer,* by Wm. Plummer, Jr., p. 265. Boston, 1857.) The soiled banner of "states' rights" was raised high on the flagstaff of Federalism.

But the real reason for their dismay was the strengthening of the government of Jefferson and the certainty that the clique of seaboard merchants, bankers and landowners would be overwhelmed by the growth of the democracy spreading limitlessly over the Western plains.

Their demagogy was in vain. The whole country rallied behind the government. In the elections of 1804 the Federalists were able to hold only two states, Delaware and Connecticut. Even Massachusetts, the citadel of Federalism, was lost. From this time on, the monocrats were never able, despite partial and temporary victories for their demagogy in periods of national calamity, openly to threaten the existence of the nation. Secretly their plots multiplied. Under the leadership of Timothy Pickering and the so-called Essex junto of diehard monarchist Federalists, they were involved in plot after plot—with the British Minister, with the Spanish Minister —plots aiming at the dismemberment of the Union and its resubjugation, that they might rule as early American Quislings.

The work of those traitors to our national life in the opening years of the past century is the heritage of perfidy of Hitler's outpost of defeatists operating today against the war effort of the American people and its government.

The Nation Between England and Napoleon

Well it was that Jefferson's policy had laid this firm foundation; for, with the climax of the titanic struggle in Europe between Britain and its allies, on the one side, and Napoleon, on the other, the infant republic had need of all possible strength to avoid going under in the tremendous tempest which was shaking the western world.

Faced with attacks on American trade by both France and England in 1807, Jefferson and the Republican Party decided to vindicate the freedom of America by a total embargo on all foreign trade, which at that moment was highly important to both powers. Thus, Jefferson resorted to economic pressure as a means of national defense. Due to Federalist smuggling, countenanced

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by vacillating Republicans, the embargo was never fully enforced, and was repealed in 1808, much to the disgust of Jefferson.

It was at this point that Jefferson's second administration came to an end. He was succeeded by Madison, for years his Secretary of State and the second in command of the Democratic-Republican Party. The policy of the next few years was in a very real sense Jefferson's own, through the leadership he gave from his retirement at Monticello.

Subsequent Non-Intercourse Acts and others did not achieve their purpose, because they lacked the full force of the previous Embargo Act. The outstanding Federalist leaders admitted in their conversations, in letters and in political conclaves that their aim was to prevent the enforcement of the measures of the administration and so to bring about war between the United States and England, in order that, as one of them put it, the ship of state might run aground and those navigating it be displaced.

The sabotage of the Embargo and the weakness of subsequent administration measures inevitably made war the only recourse to establish once and for all that America was an independent nation and to secure her frontiers for the rapidly developing farmers of the West.

The demand for war came from the people, and once Jefferson and the Democratic-Republicans recognized its necessity to safeguard the country from the alliance of Federalist treason and foreign imperialism, they proceeded to gird the nation for the struggle.

1812—The Jeffersonian Policy of the Offensive

Weak as we were then, compared to the mighty power of the British Empire, threatened at home by the treason of Federalism, which for all practical purposes turned the northeastern states into neutrals in the war, the battlecry of Jefferson and his followers was "Attack!"

With such a spirit, only the treason of the Federalists could have prevented an overwhelming victory. As it was, the successes of the small American Navy in their aggressive attacks upon the most powerful navy in the world and the determined spirit of the people alone brought the war to a successful conclusion, despite the treason which neutralized much of the best effort.

The battle of New Orleans, fought after the peace was signed but before the news had reached America, where General Andrew Jackson's frontiersmen destroyed the best troops of the British Army, veterans of the Peninsular War against Napoleon, was the final blow which, guaranteed forever that the United States stood as a nation among other nations, firm on its foundations of independence. In the peace treaty, England for the first time legally recognized the claim of the United States to Louisiana. The war, too, was the death of Federalism. The plots and intrigues of fifteen years culminated in the Hartford Convention of 1814, a convention of open treason, which completely exposed the true purposes of the leadership of that party and destroyed

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it forever as a force in American politics. The genius of Jefferson was triumphant with the people.

Jefferson continued to be the ideological leader of the democratic forces during the administrations of Monroe. In the bitter conflict over slavery in Missouri, he saw the fruits of the failure to follow his policy of preventing the extension of slavery, and foresaw the sinister results of the second great compromise with the slave system, then rapidly expanding. Jefferson collaborated with Madison and Monroe in formulating the great Monroe Doctrine, which enunciated the principle of national defense through collaboration with all the independent republics of the Western Hemisphere.

* * *

Such was the leadership Thomas Jefferson gave the nation in the titanic struggle of 1776-1824. Today we are in the midst of another struggle under very different conditions; but those contributions can guide us and aid us still.

The spirit of the offensive, which at this moment must be our strongest weapon, sprang in the early days of the republic from an understanding of the fateful issues which hung upon the establishment and preservation of the independence of the nation. The same understanding today will sweep aside every obstacle of the whiners and doubters, the defeatists and those whose passivity aids them and Hitler.

Jefferson showed America how to deal with the defeatists in the mighty struggle which he led against the monarchist traitors of his day. Jefferson's example teaches us, too, to overcome passivity through understanding how the achievement and preservation of the nation's independence are fundamental to the struggle for democracy.

Today, we Communists carry forward Jefferson's teaching in a new historic context, guided by the great principles of Marxism-Leninism, and by our own American Marxist-Leninist leader, Earl Browder. We accept the responsibility of playing our part in the united forces of the American people, with labor as the backbone, to bring home with the greatest speed the lessons of our history from which we must resolutely determine that the strength of the whole nation shall be mobilized for a mighty Western Front which can in this decisive year end Hitlerism forever.

As in the early days of the republic, he that serves his country now serves the democratic advance of the world peoples. True patriotism and true internationalism, Jefferson understood, are indissolubly linked. The cause of the United States and the cause of the United Nations is the same cause. In the words of Earl Browder, "the development of common fighting action between the peoples and governments of all the United Nations, especially between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., are the cornerstones for insuring victory over Hitler's Axis and for achieving a just and durable peace." *

* *The Worker*, June 7, 1942.

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ON THE OCCASION OF DIMITROFF'S SIXTIETH BIRTHDAY

BY MAX WEISS

IT IS fitting, as we approach the climactic point of the armed struggle of the United Nations against Hitler and the Axis, that we should observe the sixtieth birthday of George Dimitroff, the hero of Leipzig. For more than a decade, Dimitroff has been a living symbol of unity in the struggle against Nazism and fascism. His powerful and courageous voice, raised against the perpetrators of the Reichstag provocation, was heard around the world by millions in all countries. Above the cries of the tormented victims of Nazi butchery came the clarion call of Dimitroff's voice speaking from a tribune fashioned out of the prisoners' dock in the fascist Leipzig court. It was a call to struggle that gave new courage to the anti-fascist forces in Germany and in all the countries of the world. Reversing the roles that had been assigned by the Nazis, Dimitroff acted, not as the accused, but as the accuser. He showed to the whole world the path that had to be taken to destroy fascism, the path of resolute united struggle against fascism and not the path of appeasement and capitulation.

In the years that have elapsed since the Reichstag fire trial, the peoples' struggle against fascism has passed into the war of the United Nations, headed by the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States, for the destruction of Hitlerism. The peoples' anti-fascist battle flag first proudly raised by Dimitroff is now grasped in the hands of armed millions throughout the world.

The observance of George Dimitroff's sixtieth birthday is the observance of the birthday of a fighter for unity in the struggle against fascism. For, above all, Dimitroff has fought for unity of labor, for unity of the people, and for unity of all nations determined to maintain their independence and freedom. Every twist and turn of world history as well as the history of individual countries in that long period following the rise to power of Hitler can be fully explained only if we take into account the advances made or the setbacks suffered in the fight to establish this unity.

Throughout this whole period it was Dimitroff and his co-workers who tirelessly pointed the way toward the achievement of a united working class which would become

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fully conscious of its great role as the organizer of the unity of the people. It was Dimitroff who incessantly pointed the way along which could be forged the unity of the people through the establishment of a mighty People's Front. His was the voice of a foremost fighter for the establishment of unity of the nations to resist fascist aggression through a policy of collective security.

But the ardent desire of the masses in all countries for unity was betrayed by the Chamberlain-Daladier policy of capitulation to, and appeasement of, fascism, a policy now and forever more stigmatized by the odium which attaches to the memory of the Men of Munich. It was this betrayal by the Chamberlains, by the Daladiers, by the Jouhaux of the unity of labor, the people, and the nations which brought about and made inevitable the outbreak of war in September, 1939.

Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union on June 22 marked the beginning of a decisive reversal in this tragic record of disunity of the democratic forces. Inspired by the glorious resistance of the Soviet Union and its heroic Red Army, the unity of labor, the people and the nations has steadily forged ahead, becoming increasingly more powerful as the mighty coalition of the United Nations moves closer to the day of full-fledged and victorious counter-offensive against Hitler.

The agreements arrived at between President Roosevelt and Soviet Foreign Commissar Molotov in their recent historic meeting, as well as the twenty-year mutual assistance pact entered into between the Soviet Union and Great Britain, were epochal steps in forging the solid unity of the United Nations. They achieved complete unison with regard to the urgent task of opening a second front in 1942 and established the basis for collaboration among the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union in organizing the peace and security of the world after victory has been won against Hitler and the Axis.

This signal event represents a turning point in the war, giving evidence of the determination of the United Nations to enter 1943 without Hitler and without Hitler's war. It represents a turning point in world history; for it opens up the perspective of post-war peaceful collaboration between the United States and the Soviet Union, the two greatest powers in the world, in order, together with Great Britain, China and the other United Nations, to assure peace, national independence and democratic advance for all of humanity.

It is clear that the more rapid materialization of victory over Hitler and the Axis depends on our ability to advance this already great and growing unity to still higher levels: to bring about the most complete unity of organized labor and the working class nationally and internationally, as well as the highest degree of national unity and the maximum unity of the United Nations.

In the achievement of this great task it is primarily the working class which has the special respon-

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sibility of being the organizer, the firm backbone of the nation.

Our observance of George Dimitroff's sixtieth birthday is a fitting occasion for recalling his consistent and clear teachings on the relationship of the working class to the nation and its role in defense of the nation.

From the very beginning, in summoning the masses to battle against the fascist menace to the working class and to the people, Dimitroff clearly outlined the responsibility of the working class, led by its vanguard, for knocking from the hands of the fascists the weapon of demagogic exploitation of the national sentiments of the people. He made it clear that this weapon of the fascists could be turned aside only by the pursuit of correct policies by the working class in relation to the nation, to national independence and freedom, to national traditions and aspirations.

Such a correct attitude to the nation, grounded in the fundamental teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, required struggle against and elimination of all incorrect attitudes by the working class and its various sections to the nation. On the one hand, it was necessary to rid the working class of all chauvinist tendencies, whose effect could only be to make the workers objectively the supporters, not of the interests of the nation, but of the interests of a small selfish minority within the nation who covered up their reactionary imperialist aims with talk about "national interests."

On the other hand, it was necessary to fight against an attitude which has developed, especially among advanced workers, in reaction to such chauvinist influences, of complete unconcern with, or contempt for, questions dealing with the fate of the nation.

Calling, in the first place, upon the proletarian vanguard to take the lead in this great work of awakening the working class to its true and historic responsibility, Dimitroff said:

"We Communists are the irreconcilable opponents, in principle, of bourgeois nationalism in all its forms. But we are not supporters of national nihilism, and should never act as such."*

To those who thought and acted as though proletarian internationalism were in contradiction to a correct attitude toward the nation and the defense of national interests, Dimitroff said:

"Proletarian internationalism not only is not in contradiction to this struggle of the working people of individual countries for national, social and cultural freedom, but, thanks to international proletarian solidarity and fighting unity, assures the support that is necessary for victory in this struggle."**

Proceeding from this Leninist-Stalinist conception of the working class attitude to the nation and the relationship between the defense of the nation by the working class and proletarian internationalism, Dimitroff called upon the working

* George Dimitroff, *The United Front*, International Publishers, p. 79.

** *Ibid.*, p. 81.

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masses in all countries to defend themselves and their nations against the menace of fascist aggression.

Speaking at a time when the menace of fascism to the independence of all nations was not recognized either by the leading circles of the bourgeoisie in the democratic countries or by the decisive leaders of labor and the Second International; when, in fact, the national interests of various countries were being betrayed by the attitude of these sections of the bourgeoisie and the labor movement; when the main task was still that of forging a People's Front to prevent the outbreak of war, Dimitroff said:

"It goes without saying that it is necessary everywhere and on all occasions to expose before the masses and prove to them concretely that the fascist bourgeoisie, on the pretext of defending general national interests, is conducting its egotistical policy of oppressing and exploiting its own people, as well as robbing and enslaving other nations. But we must not confine ourselves to this. We must at the same time prove by the very struggle of the working class and the actions of the Communist Parties that the proletariat, in rising against every manner of bondage and national oppression, is the only true fighter for national freedom and the independence of the people."*

Much water has flowed under the bridge since these words were uttered, in 1935. What was then a potential menace by fascism to the independence of nations is now a ferocious armed forced attempting through war to subjugate all nations in order to conquer the world. This fact has changed the attitude that formerly prevailed. Today, the dominant sections of the bourgeoisie, together with the working class and all other sections of the people are bound together in a national front for the freedom and independence of our nation and the destruction of the fascist threat of enslavement.

Great advances have been and are being made in the strengthening of this national unity which is now at its highest point since December 7. Evidence of this is to be seen in the growing collaboration between labor and capital in war production, in the constant increase in the number of labor-management production committees in various plants and industries. It is shown in the growing and positive response to President Roosevelt's appeal for the election of candidates on the basis of their record in support to the war effort and without regard to party affiliation. It is shown in the increasing participation of the masses of people in all phases of the war effort, support to the armed forces, overfulfillment of war bond quotas and civilian defense activity. It is shown in the widespread and overwhelming support given to the agreements arrived at between President Roosevelt and Soviet Foreign Commissar Molotov for the opening of a second front and for American-Soviet collaboration to assure peace and security after the defeat of Hitler.

It would, however, be extremely shortsighted to assume that all is well and that the working class has

* *Ibid.*, p. 80.

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no special problems to meet and solve in the sphere of national unity. It is certainly true that very few enemies of national unity dare to attack the war effort openly or to speak out openly against national unity. But behind their attitude of lip service to the war, the defeatists are extremely active in their efforts to torpedo national unity.

The opposition of such defeatists as Wheeler, Nye, Landon, the *N.Y. Daily News* and the Hearst press to the agreements reached between Roosevelt and Molotov indicates that the defeatists are intensifying their efforts to promote national disunity and struggle against the policies of the Roosevelt Administration.

The tactics of the defeatists are also illustrated in the lip service given the war effort by Herbert Hoover under cover of which the treasonable demand is made for greater freedom for the sixth column. The content of Hoover's spurious declaration of support for the war is exposed by his proposal that fascist economic measures be adopted in the United States, ostensibly for "greater efficiency" in conducting the war effort, but actually for the purpose of undermining the morale of the people.

In a similar fashion, the defeatists within the Democratic Party, like Dies, Senator Walsh, Senator Reynolds, Congressman Sweeney, are intensifying their efforts to disrupt national unity and to weaken the war effort.

The Norman Thomas Socialists and the Trotskyites continue and intensify their treasonable opposition to the war.

Even in certain sectors of the anti-Hitler camp, all of which in general support the war, attitudes are developing and policies are being pursued that are definitely harmful to the cause of national unity. It is sufficient to mention the "politics-as-usual" attitude displayed both in and out of Congress on innumerable issues, such as the opposition to the Administration program on farm prices, the so-called "economy" drive, etc. This attitude, if continued, will place in serious jeopardy the entire war effort. It will in particular have most harmful results in the coming elections.

Recently, also, certain sections of the anti-Hitler bourgeoisie have been adopting an increasingly critical attitude toward the policies of the Administration both on domestic and foreign issues, especially as the people's character of the war receives increasing attention. An example of this tendency is to be found in the strange behavior of a wide section of the press, which either completely ignored or ostentatiously played down the notable speeches of Vice President Wallace and Sumner Welles, thus leaving unchallenged the attacks made on the addresses by the defeatists.

Although there is a process of differentiation going on in the camp of Social-Democracy, the Social-Democrats of the *New Leader-Jewish Daily Forward* - David Dubinsky type have dealt heavy blows to the cause of labor and national unity by their envenomed policy of labor disruption, anti-Sovietism, and Red-baiting. The re-

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sults of their policy are to be seen in the continued split within the American Labor Party in New York, and in the cabal entered into between the Right-Wing American Labor Party leadership and the New York County Republican Party leadership to campaign for the defeat of Congressman Vito Marcantonio.

Finally, there is the activity of the "hate-labor-as-usual" group of employers who continue harassing labor and piling up obstacles against the workers' justified demands for greater participation in the direction of the war effort.

The struggle of the defeatists against national unity, the new dangers to national unity that are manifesting themselves in certain quarters within the anti-Hitler camp—all this makes it more necessary than ever before for the working class to strengthen its unity and display a maximum initiative in order to help smash the plottings of the defeatists and to help unify all anti-Hitler forces behind the war effort.

It is in this respect that the teachings of Dimitroff are of inestimable importance to the working class today. For Dimitroff constantly emphasized the great role which the working class is destined to play in the united struggle against fascism. Writing at a time when the main task in the struggle against fascism was still to establish the People's Front, against fascism and for the maintenance of peace, Dimitroff said:

"The proletariat is the most consistent fighter for the establishment and consolidation of the united People's Front against fascism, both on a national and international scale. Without the proletariat, the People's Front is altogether impossible. The proletariat is the main driving force of any anti-fascist people's movement, of any mass movement in defense of democracy and peace. The proletariat fights jointly with the democratic petty bourgeoisie, the peasantry and intellectuals against their common enemy. But the proletariat must rely primarily on its own forces, on the unity of the ranks of the working class movement in each country and on the unity of the international working class movement. For the more united and organized the proletariat is, the more truly will it be able to defend its class interests and the better will it be able to fulfill its leading role in the ranks of the united People's Front."*

It is clear that today we have to deal not with the role of the working class within a people's front but within a national front of which the decisive sections of monopoly capital are an integral part. The tasks of the working class as well as its relationship to other classes have been correspondingly modified by this essential fact which rules out any attempt to draw mechanical parallels with the past. But the decisive role which the working class must play in fighting for unity of all forces within the camp of anti-fascist national unity today is illumined by the teachings of Dimitroff on this question.

Labor has not only the special responsibility of strengthening na-

* *Ibid.*, p. 237.

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tional unity by displaying a maximum initiative on all political questions, by energetically pressing the struggle against all defeatists, by helping to unite all sections of the people behind the war effort, but it has increasingly greater possibilities for doing this. The very development of the struggle to strengthen national unity is creating a state of affairs in which key sectors of the national front are, more and more, relying on and collaborating with the labor movement in the fight for policies needed to win the war, as well as to assure the organization of peace and security after the war has been won. Labor has made great advances in helping unite the masses of people for support to all phases of the war effort. Of inestimable importance in this respect is labor's advance in uniting its own ranks through the increasing collaboration between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. in Labor's Victory Board, nationally as well as in the localities. The path to a still greater strengthening of the existing unity of the A. F. of L. and C.I.O., as well as toward ultimate organic unity of the trade union movement, was opened by the C.I.O. Executive Board proposal for the establishment of a National Labor Council to be composed of the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. Executive Boards.

This growing unity of labor has without question had an important effect on the stimulation of the political initiative which labor must display if the masses are to be rallied for the policies needed to smash Hitler in 1942. Indicative of this fact is the position taken by the C.I.O. Executive Board on the opening of a second front, on support to President Roosevelt's seven-point economic program, on the necessity for labor's active participation in the coming elections in order to assure the non-partisan election of victory candidates, as well as its proposal that Labor's Victory Board call a national Win-the-War Conference of all wings of organized labor.

Without doubt, these decisions of the C.I.O. Executive Board as well as the political initiative displayed by it on other questions are directly connected with its open declaration of war against the defeatist policies of John L. Lewis. The declaration of war against Lewis will undoubtedly enable the entire labor movement to march ahead more freely and more effectvely in the fulfillment of its great responsibilities.

Impaled upon the sharp prongs of this exposure by the C.I.O., Lewis has resorted to the typical Hitler technique of Red-baiting against Philip Murray and the C.I.O.

It is easy to understand why Lewis should squirm when labor proceeds to judge him by his attitude to the war and to national unity. For on this issue, the real issue, Lewis stands condemned before the bar of labor, the people and the nation. That is why he would like to throw labor into the disastrous turmoil which would inevitably result from a discussion—not of who supports the war and who opposes it—but of who is a Communist and who is not. It is a measure of the political maturity of the C.I.O. that it refused to be di-

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verted into such a fatal course. Instead, it proceeded to unite its ranks by a further development of labor's contribution to the war, thus strengthening national unity.

* * *

In outlining the great responsibilities of the working class in the struggle against fascism, Dimitroff consistently emphasized the inestimable importance of unity of action of the international working class.

"The establishment of unity of action by the international working class against fascism, the common enemy, the mortal enemy of the whole of mankind is the basic *urgent task facing the working class organizations throughout the world, the supreme demand of the moment.*

"This is a difficult and big task, one going beyond the bounds of the ordinary current tasks of the labor movement. But if this task is solved, it will bring about a fundamental change in the course of political events, will give them a new direction in the interests of the workers, and will make of the working class and its organizations a force exerting tremendous influence over the fate of their own people and also over the fate of the whole of mankind."*

Such unity of the working class internationally has even greater importance today, at the height of armed struggle against Hitler and the Axis. For today, such unity of action by the international working class can and must play a decisive role in winning the war unleashed upon the world by bestial fascism, and by winning this victory finally and completely crushing Hitler and Hitlerism and helping assure the organization of peace and security in the post-war world.

Labor's realization of the importance of such international unity of the working class has tremendously increased in the past period. International unity of action of the working class is today at a higher point than ever before. The collaboration of the British and Soviet trade union movements in the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Council is a concrete illustration of this fact. The irresistible march of the idea that the working class must unite its forces internationally in order to make a maximum contribution to the war against Hitler is also illustrated in the big step forward taken by the C.I.O. at its recent Executive Board meeting at which it went on record for collaboration with the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Council as well as for collaboration with the trade union movements of the Latin American countries.

As yet, however, the American Federation of Labor has not advanced to the position occupied by the C.I.O. on this crucial issue. Although its millions of members, just as the millions of members of the C.I.O., ardently desire the affiliation of the American trade union movement to the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Council, the A. F. of L. has rejected the proposal for such affiliation in favor of a set of counter-proposals. Although these proposals have not yet been made public, the

* *Ibi., p.* 230.

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Social-Democratic *New Leader* states in its issue of May 30:

"The A. F. of L. proposed that the British Trade Union Committee act as a liaison agency or as an A. F. of L. spokesman in matters affecting trade union cooperation. An observer likened the proposal to the Swiss embassy acting for American interests in Italy as a neutral."

Since the A. F. of L. has not made its discussion or its counter-proposals on this question public, we cannot discuss the foregoing as a statement of A. F. of L. policy, especially since it is known that there are forces within the A. F. of L. leadership that are definitely in favor of direct A. F. of L. collaboration with the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Council.

But whatever the foregoing may not be a description of it most certainly is a correct description of the consistent attitude of the Republican Hutcheson-Woll combination as well as of the Social-Democrats of the *New Leader* stripe.

This attitude is a menace to the cause of victory over Hitler and the Axis. As if to remove all doubt on this score, the Social-Democratic *New Leader* correspondent has gratuitously emphasized this fact by comparing the A. F. of L. counter-proposal to a proposal for contact between our country and a country with which we are at war! What else is this but a dastardly attempt to portray the Soviet Union, our country's ally, as an enemy country? Surely the millions of A. F. of L. members who know that the brave people of the Soviet Union and the heroic soldiers of the Red Army have shed torrents of blood for a cause which is our cause; who know that our own country, our own cities and our own homes were defended by the Soviet people and Red Army at the approaches to Leningrad, before Moscow and in the Ukraine, will repudiate this vile slander upon the Soviet Union, our country's great ally.

Is it not ridiculous in one and the same breath to support military aid to the Soviet Union and at the same time to reject collaboration with the Soviet trade unions, when through such collaboration increased military aid would be made possible as a result of the great inspiration which such collaboration would give American labor to surpass all goals set in the battle for production?

Certainly the masses of workers in the A. F. of L. will not countenance the rejection of international trade union collaboration. They know that such international trade union collaboration would give new inspiration to millions of workers in America just as it has given that inspiration to the workers in Britain, that it would enormously facilitate the exchange of experience of the workers of these countries and thus speed up the battle for production. They know that such collaboration would enormously increase labor's political role internationally as well as within our own country.

Let us think for a moment about what a different course world history might have taken had such international trade union collaboration been established in the days

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when there was still a possibility of throttling the fascist aggressors without war by a policy of collective security. Is it not clear that the failure at that time to establish such international collaboration of the trade unions made it easier for Hitler to prepare for, initiate and launch his program of world conquest by war?

How can we explain the disparity between the attitude of the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. on this question of international trade union collaboration, both trade union centers being equally committed to victory over Hitler and the Axis? The explanation must be found in the fact that, unlike the C.I.O., there are still within the top leadership of the A. F. of L. defeatists like Hutcheson who are permitted to work hand in glove with Lewis. It is to be found in the fact that there is prevalent within the top leadership of the A. F. of L. the influence of policies followed by Social-Democrats like Dubinsky. The membership of the A. F. of L. has the obligation and the duty to speak up and to insist that these policies be abandoned, that the A. F. of L. join with the C.I.O. in cooperating with the British and Soviet trade unions as an essential factor for victory over Hitler and the Axis.

The enthusiastic response of the masses of workers to the agreements reached in the Roosevelt-Molotov conversations will surely inspire the growing movement for the direct participation of the American labor movement in the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Council.

* * *

In fulfilling its great obligations, labor has the responsibility of unifying all sections of the population within the camp of national unity. Special mention must be made of the responsibility which labor must assume in fighting for the full integration of the Negro people in the war effort. Full integration of the 13,000,000 Negro people in the war effort is demanded both by general considerations and by the pressing and very immediate need for all-out mobilization of the American people for victory. Because labor has not, with sufficient boldness, expanded the very positive initial steps already taken by it in this direction, into an aggressive, consistent and continuous struggle against all forces still impeding the full integration of the Negro people into the war effort, the defeatists have been allowed to capitalize on the just grievances of the Negro people in order to weaken their active participation in the camp of national unity.

Similarly, labor must awaken to the great need for strengthening its alliance with the farming population of the country, among which the defeatists, including John L. Lewis, are attempting to work in order to create national disunity by pitting farmers against workers.

It is along this road that labor must travel, insisting upon its full representation in the government in all key sectors of the war effort, from which, for the most part, it is at present excluded. Such representation of labor in the government is urgently required in the interest of its maximum contribution to na-

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tional unity and the war effort. Furthermore, such a step is necessary for the nation in order to strengthen the government by the inclusion within it of representatives of the labor movement, the strongest and most dependable anti-fascist force.

* * *

The observance of Dimitroff's 60th birthday is a tribute to a man who stands as a symbol of the people's struggle against fascism. His steadfastness and courage in the face of fascism, the implacable foe of all nations and peoples, is and will continue to be a standing inspiration to all who are determined to wipe fascism from the face of the earth.

But it is also highly pertinent, and very important, to inquire into the source of that steadfastness and courage; into the well-springs of that clear guidance which Dimitroff has been able to give the working class in its struggle against fascism and in defense of national independence and freedom.

For Dimitroff represents the most advanced, the most conscious, the most consistent and dependable of the anti-fascist forces: the Communists.

All the qualities for which the masses in every country admire and pay honor to Dimitroff have their basis in his ability to master, apply and develop the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

The observance of Dimitroff's 60th birthday is, therefore, eminently the moment at which to review that for which Dimitroff is also a symbol—the special role of the Communists in the defense of the nation.

This is all the more incumbent upon us because of the widespread discussion which is now taking place on the ruling of Attorney General Biddle on the Bridges case. For this ruling has inevitably raised for wide sections of the population the necessity to re-examine and to think through the relationship of the Communist Party to the unity of labor, the people and the nation. This is true even though it is of the very essence of the mass protest against the Biddle ruling that Communism is not the issue now, just as it was not the issue in the past when the enemies of labor and the people raised it as a smokescreen.

It is admitted on every hand, and surely it would be impossible to deny it, that the Communist Party loyally supports the war and loyally fights for national unity. But in some cases, this admission is coupled with the following observation: "The Communist Party supports the war now only because the Soviet Union is in the war. Its orientation is not based on consideration of American national interest but on considerations which are exclusively Soviet." This interpretation of the principles which motivate the policies of the Communist Party of the United States is completely false. The policies of the Communist Party of the United States have been, are, and always will be based upon American national interests. It was in defense of our national interests that we fought for a policy of col-

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lective security at a time when the appeasers denied that the fascists would ever attack our country. It was in defense of our national interests that we defended Republican Spain and demanded American aid to Spain. It was in defense of our national interests that we consistently called for aid to China and for an embargo and boycott of the Japanese aggressors. Today, all honest people agree that these policies were truly in the national interest.

It is also primarily because it defends our national interests that the Communist Party fights for, and always has fought for, collaboration with the Soviet Union.

It is now clear to all that collaboration with the Soviet Union and the strengthening of this collaboration to the maximum through the agreements reached in the Roosevelt - Molotov conversations are vital to the American national interest. Without it our nation would face disaster. But an examination of the whole history of the past will also reveal that our American national interests demanded the closest collaboration with the Soviet Union, not only now, but on every single occasion in the past in which American-Soviet relations came to the fore in world history. The high points and the low points of our country's welfare and influence on the world scene in the sense of being able to direct events in conformity with our national interests are indissolubly linked with the high points and low points of our country's relations with the Soviet Union. It has been precisely at those moments when our country rejected the policy of collaboration with the Soviet Union and followed instead a policy of hostility to the Soviet Union that we approached the ebb of our national fortunes and jeopardized our national interest. And it is precisely now when we have reached the highest point yet attained in the establishment of collaboration with the Soviet Union as a result of the Roosevelt-Molotov agreements that the fortunes and future of our nation are at flood tide.

This fundamental truth is at last beginning to dawn upon the minds of increasing sections of the bourgeoisie itself. For example, Walter Lippmann, writing prior to the Roosevelt - Molotov conversations, had the following to say:

"The alliance with Russia is harder for almost everyone in both countries to understand . . . we shall fatally misunderstand the nature of things if we do not come to understand that Russia—be it Czarist or Soviet—is and always has been the natural ally of the United States. The whole history of Russian-American relations is a demonstration that though the two nations have never liked one another ideologically, they have always in great issues aligned themselves together. We have Alaska by purchase from Russia, and Russia in Siberia is our nearest neighbor among all the powers of Europe and Asia. In the Russo-Japanese war of 1905 we intervened diplomatically to end the war lest Russia be driven out of Siberia. In 1918 we sent troops to Siberia to keep Japan from seizing Siberia. Czarist or Bolshevik, it

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made no difference. when the test came we have always had the sense to be pro-Russian in our own vital interest.

"We must continue to be. For Russia is the greatest land power of the Eurasian continent, and no international order can be imagined without Russia as one of its great supports. Russia touches us in the Pacific. Russia touches Japan and China and India and the Middle East and the Balkans and Central Europe and Scandinavia and Germany." (N. Y. *Herald Tribune*, June 6, 1942.)

We cannot, of course, underwrite every argument advanced by Mr. Lippmann in support of his unquestionably sound main thesis. We disagree, for example, with his manner of interpreting history. For surely the invasion by American troops of Siberia in 1918 cannot be considered an act of collaboration or friendship with the Soviet Union, nor was it in the American national interest, although it is true that in the national interest of our country our government later insisted upon Japan getting out of Soviet territory. But if we disregard such specific interpretations of certain events, the outstanding fact is that what Walter Lippmann advocates is precisely what the Communist Party has always fought for, the principle of permanent collaboration with the Soviet Union in the American national interest.

Of course, the Communist Party bases its policy on even more substantial grounds than those advanced by Mr. Lippmann. While subscribing to all the valid reasons brought forward by Mr. Lippmann, we must correct one most salient observation by him: it is not a matter of indifference to America whether the government over one-sixth of the world is tsarist or Soviet; it is only because the system of government in the Soviet Union is a socialist one that there is precluded any possibility of the Soviet Union ever coming into conflict with any policies of our country which do not have as their motive reactionary, imperialist considerations.

This thesis which now forms the basis of our official government policy is in its substance precisely that thesis for which Earl Browder fought in the days when its acceptance as the policy of our country might have prevented the outbreak of the present war. As far back as July, 1939, Earl Browder wrote:

"The main idea which I am defending in the field of foreign policy is that of ever closer collaboration between the United States and the Soviet Union, as a major *factor in the organization of world* peace, as the chief protection of the world against the flood of fascist barbarism, for the maintenance of an ordered civilization in a large part of the world.

"It is impossible to dismiss this question as of secondary importance since the two countries in question are the strongest in the world, economically, militarily, and in a strategic geographic position. . . .

"What are the obstacles to such cooperation? Is there any conflict of interest between the United States and the Soviet Union, in any

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area of international relations, which shuts the door to such cooperation? It is our contention that there is no conflict of interest, that on the contrary the interests of the two countries are parallel, with many and growing areas of complete harmony.

"In the Far East, the Pacific area, those parallel interests are so obvious and fundamental that even the Harding Republican administration, in 1920, dominated as it was by a fixed and obstinate hostility to the Soviet regime that was never relaxed for twelve years under Coolidge and Hoover, was forced by the inexorable logic of even the narrowest conception of American national interests to put pressure upon Japan, in the Washington Conference, to evacuate the Soviet Far Eastern Maritime Provinces after the Red Army had cleared them out of the Baikal region. . . .

"Turn now to Europe. . . . Peace in Europe is impossible without the active collaboration of the Soviet Union, which now, as always, is ready and anxious to participate in the organization of peace. . . .

". . . We profoundly believe that the true national interests of our own and every other people are not in contradiction, that they are harmonious, and that one can be protected in reality by policies which conduce to the protection and security of all.

"We also know that similar views guide the policy of the men and the party who direct the destinies of the Soviet Union. That is one of the reasons we are able, with full confidence, to champion the cause of full collaboration of the United States and the Soviet Union in world affairs, in the cause of peace and orderly international relations, while basing ourselves entirely upon the defense of the national interests of the American people." *

We thus see that the Communist Party has always understood and fought for the conclusions to which the national interests of our country have finally brought us.

All the more reason why we must take issue with those who think that the present loyal support of the Communist Party to the war effort and to national unity should be minimized because the Communist Party consistently fought for collaboration between our country and the Soviet Union.

Together with all other anti-Hitler forces in the camp of national unity, the Communist Party will continue as in the past to contribute every energy to help fortify and strengthen the unity of labor, the unity of the people and national unity. In this way it will help realize the great objective of smashing Hitler in 1942, and through collaboration between the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union, together with China and all the other United Nations, of organizing the peace and security of the postwar world.

Our observance of the 60th birthday of George Dimitroff is an occasion for a renewed dedication to the great tasks before us, in the solution of which the steadfast example, the inspiring courage and the brilliant teachings of Dimitroff are an indispensable weapon.

* Earl Browder, *The Second Imperialist War*, International Publishers, New York, 1940, pp. 56-59.

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WE SALUTE COMRADES BLOOR AND WHITNEY!

BY ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

THE National Committee of the Communist Party greets the birthday anniversaries of its two oldest and beloved members with deep pride and joy. Comrade Ella Reeve Bloor, chairman of the Communist Party of Pennsylvania, celebrates her eightieth birthday on July 8 and Comrade Anita Whitney, Chairman of the Communist Party of California, celebrates her seventy-fifth birthday on July 7. We extend to these two cherished comrades of ours, on behalf of the entire membership of our party, our warmest and most affectionate greetings and our heartfelt wishes for their continued long life, good health and uninterrupted activities in humanity's great war for freedom and independence and for victory over fascism in 1942.

We are highly honored that these two great American women, leaders of the people, true daughters of the American Revolution, exceptionally gifted organizers and speakers, are charter members of the Communist Party. Their lives are eloquent testimony to the identification of the Communist Party with the noblest traditions and most heroic struggles of our country, its people and, above all, its working class. No other party or organization known to us can boast, as we do in all modesty, of two such extraordinary veteran women leaders. Our entire party, in response to our call, is celebrating this joint gala event from coast to coast, during July and August. We cordially invite all progressive men and women to join with us in honoring "Mother" Bloor and Anita Whitney, for their long years of leadership and service in the progressive labor movement and in the cause of socialism.

These occasions will help to intensify the growing war efforts of American women, side by side with the heroic women of the Soviet Union, China and Great Britain, to annihilate the barbaric Nazi concepts of women, which degrade and cruelly torture the suffering women of countries conquered by the Nazis. We honor the brave guerrilla fighters among them. To protect our people at home from the savageries of the Axis powers and to free those abroad who are under its yoke, the womanhood of America will emulate the unconquerable spirit of such great fighters for

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human freedom as Mother Bloor and Anita Whitney.

What better way to celebrate their birthdays, in this stern and grim summer of decisive conflict, than to pledge to them that American women will give their all to smash Hitler, to help open up the Western Front in 1942? This serious and patriotic purpose of their joint celebrations will be a source of greatest satisfaction to these veteran leaders, whose lives are a clarion call to all women to action.

These two remarkable women have devoted their entire lives to the enlightenment and freedom of the people. They have been associated with every progressive cause in our country for over half a century. Their courage, honesty and consistency have evoked admiration among large numbers of American people. Their devoted service for the past twenty-three years in the Communist Party is further eloquent testimony to its living role as a patriotic force, continuing and developing the struggles of our country for freedom and justice. We call upon all our fellow-citizens to join with us in paying fitting tribute on their birthdays to these two women leaders of the working class, crusaders and pioneers in the struggle of the American people for a free and happy life.

We are confident that the Negro people will be among the first to honor gladly Ella Reeve Bloor and Anita Whitney, who, in the spirit of Lincoln, have helped to carry on their struggle for complete emancipation. Daughters of Abolitionists, their youthful sympathies were early aroused by the plight of their Negro fellow-Americans who suffered lynchings, "Jim Crow" discrimination, and are deprived of education, jobs, votes, social and personal equality. Their continuous efforts on behalf of 13,000,000 Negro men and women have made their names known to humble sharecroppers in the South, to Northern industrial workers as well as to the illustrious leaders of the Negro people. Anita Whitney served for fifteen years as a member of the Executive Board of the "National Association for the Advancement of Colored People." Both of them worked untiringly for the freedom of Angelo Herndon and the Scottsboro boys. We invite the Negro people to join with us in paying fitting tribute to these two determined women who for fifty years have been true friends and defenders of the Negro people. The occasions will be made happier by their presence and participation.

We are equally proud of their lifelong identification with the heroic efforts of American women to secure complete equality. Ella Reeve Bloor, as Chairman of the Department of Working Women of the Connecticut Suffrage Organization, campaigned valiantly there and in many other states for women's suffrage. Anita Whitney, as chairman of the College Equal Suffrage League, led the campaign to victory in California and aided in the victorious campaigns of Oregon and Nevada, where women won the full right to vote. She was Second Vice-President of the American Equal Suffrage Association, of which Dr.

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Anna Shaw was President and Jane Addams first Vice President.

That millions of American women are today exercising the right to vote, are endowed with all other inalienable legal rights, are enjoying co-education, are protected in industry by social and labor legislation, are practicing the professions, are participating in unions and auxiliaries and are in civilian defense and war service—is due in large measure to women who fought for these rights during the last century.

Such trail-blazers for equal rights and opportunities for American women are Ella Reeve Bloor and Anita Whitney. They personify hundreds of others in the ranks of the working class and other sections of the people, unknown brave women, who suffered, sacrificed, were ridiculed and insulted, but finally triumphed. They are an inspiration and an example to younger women to continue striving until complete equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, cultural, social and political life are fully guaranteed.

We extend an invitation especially to all progressive women to honor "Mother" Bloor and Miss Whitney on their joint birthdays.

* * *

The activities of Ella Reeve Bloor and Anita Whitney have been carried on in the labor movement in the people's struggle against barbarous fascism, and in the service of America's national interests and the cause of friendship between America and the Soviet Union, on which depends victory over fascism and the future of the entire world. To recount fully these activities would require a review of the struggles for labor's right to organize, of historic labor trials, of campaigns to organize the unorganized, of agitation for the unemployed, of the long and glorious history of labor itself for the past half century, which has resulted today in the strong organizations of over 12,000,000 workers, and of tireless struggle to unite the people against fascism and rally them for all-out war effort against the Axis.

Mother Bloor worked hard among coal and ore miners, machintsts, farmers, millinery workers, textile, railroad workers and others. The story of her life includes such famous struggles as Calumet, Ludlow, Gastonia, Passaic, Lawrence. From the hop pickers' strike at Wheatlands in 1912, the I.W.W. free speech fights, the Mooney-Billings trials, the long struggle to release J. B. McNamara, through the struggles of the agricultural, maritime and other workers, Anita Whitney has been identified with labor in California.

Both were engaged in labor defense campaigns for the release of Debs and the hundreds of Socialists and I.W.W.'s prosecuted in the Palmer Raids of 1919-1920, as well as for Sacco and Vanzetti. Comrade Anita Whitney was herself for seven years in the shadow of a prison sentence of from one to fourteen years on a "criminal syndicalist" charge and was finally pardoned by Governor Young, in response to a nationwide movement in her behalf.

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Mother Bloor has been arrested on innumerable picket lines and served a thirty-day sentence in Nebraska in 1934 in connection with a strike of women on a poultry farm. She was then 72 years old.

We are certain that organized labor, men and women, will be glad to join in felicitations to these two fighting champions of freedom and victory over Hitler, these champions of the rights of labor, on their joint birthdays and to express their profound appreciation of their years of tireless service in the great struggles of labor. They turned the furrows and sowed the seed where many splendid unions flourish today.

We glory in the invaluable contributions our valiant women comrades have made over the years to the American labor movement, which testify to the fact that the Communist Party is flesh and blood of America and its great working class. Their anniversaries are celebrations of the people. Their lives clearly show to all Americans that the Communist Party throughout its history is one and indivisible with the great American democratic tradition of life, liberty, and happiness for all.

We are proud that Ella Reeve Bloor, Anita Whitney and other leading women are today members of the National Committee of the Communist Party. It is a joy to see these two leaders of American women, ardent and alert as ever, actively participating in our deliberations and at the conventions of our party. Recently they gave leadership to the campaigns in their respective states for the freedom of Earl Browder, General Secretary of the Communist Party. We are proud of them as political candidates of our party for public office, as veteran campaigners for socialism. At 69 years of age, in 1936, Anita Whitney received 100,280 votes for Secretary of State, which indicates she is the best known and most respected spokesman of the Communist Party of California.

In honoring Comrades Bloor and Whitney we honor all the women members of the Communist rank and file as well as leaders. Our women members are among the most stable and loyal members of our party. Though usually bearing the responsibilities of wife and mother in the home and in many cases working at a full-time job in industry, they are always in the forefront of win-the-war activities. They are always among the most active in day-to-day party work. Our women comrades are also busy in trade unions and auxiliaries; fraternal, consumer and parent-teacher organizations, as well as in civilian defense. Splendid, intelligent women members of the Communist Party are taking over competently and capably wherever necessary, when party posts are vacated by men leaving to join the armed forces. Nowhere have our women Communists failed or faltered.

In honoring Mother Bloor and Anita Whitney the National Committee of the Communist Party is proud to pay tribute to these, our women comrades everywhere. There can be no more appropriate

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way to celebrate these extraordinary anniversaries than now, in wartime, to recognize the role and responsibilities of our women. The occasions should be signalized by bringing forward into the responsible leadership of our party more of our women in every community. They belong in the leadership of the whole labor and people's movements. By a bold policy of promoting women personnel we demonstrate the confidence we place in our women comrades and set an example to other labor organizations. We honor Mother Bloor and Anita Whitney, who opened and broadened the path for other women to tread now so confidently. Let our women step forward bravely.

We salute our ever young and ever fair comrades, Ella Reeve Bloor at 80, Anita Whitney at 75, as daughters of America. Upholding throughout their long and useful lives the traditions of the great pioneer women who helped to found and build our country, they are the finest types of the progressive American womanhood of today. They have worked with devotion and courage for the rights of women, labor, the Negro people, and all oppressed humanity, for the cause of freedom and socialism. Like the great Spanish leader Dolores Ibarruri, "La Pasionaria"—they cry out to America, today—men and women—"Better die standing than to live on bended knees!"

Dear Comrades Bloor and Whitney, we salute you as members of the Communist Party, as the chairmen of our party in the great states of Pennsylvania and California, as members of the National Committee of the Communist Party. Our love and good wishes to you. May you retain your health and strength in struggle, for many years to come.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE
COMMUNIST PARTY
Wm. Z. Foster, *Chairman*
Earl Browder, *General Secretary*

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SPAIN AND THE SECOND FRONT

BY I. URIZAR

"SECOND Front!" This is the cry, the longing of all the peoples.

In this world cry the voice of Spaniards likewise sounds forth strongly. The shots fired by the *guerrilleros* of Asturias and Andalucia; the acts of sabotage and the struggle of the peoples of Spain; the participation of Spanish refugees alongside French patriots in the anti-Nazi struggle throughout France; the participation of Spaniards in the Commando raids; the collaboration of Spanish emigrés with the peoples of the Americas; all this similarly constitutes a cry for the opening of a Second Front in the west.

This is important; for Spain is important in the general struggle against fascism. And as the threat of a Second Front draws Western Europe, the Mediterranean and North Africa ever nearer to a period of active struggle, the meaning of Spain and its weight in the balance of forces are considerably augmented. Such at any rate must be the opinion of Hitler, who is engaged in a preventive maneuver which has for its objective the clearing up for the Nazis of the situation in the Mediterranean and in Africa, through the establishment of western bases and the stationing there of the French and Spanish fleets. In connection with this, while Mussolini is noisily clamoring for Corsica, Nice, etc., Hitler is at the same time, albeit more discreetly, having his Spanish lackeys take a hand by setting up a claim for Oran and Casablanca.

In brief, while adhering strictly to those realities with which life confronts us, it is not possible to conceive of serious operations in the west of Europe if we forget that Spain, also, is a political, economic and geographic reality. Spain is not merely a memory—the memory of a past struggle. Spain today is a prime factor in the development of the struggle in Western Europe, in the Mediterranean, in Northern and Western Africa and, finally, in the Atlantic. It is a factor which holds within itself elements of danger and menace for the United Nations, as well as elements which are especially favorable to them.

In view of all this, it is incomprehensible why it is the major portion of the press and radio and other commentators, particularly in the United States and in England, should maintain the profound silence that they do—a silence which so far has barely if ever been broken—on the subject of Spain

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and the problem it presents, not alone with respect to future military campaigns, but with respect also to the course of political events in our country, which in the end will determine the role that Spain is to play in those campaigns.

What is there that could account for such a phenomenon? The reason cannot be that they look upon the question as one of small moment. For—let us see just what the significance of Spain really is:

Strategic Significance

Spain is one of the most decisive positions so far as the control of the Mediterranean is concerned. Hitler is compelled to concern himself with the question of his southern defenses; this is not unconnected with his keeping Rommel in Africa and with his demanding the French and Spanish fleets. For the same reason he is playing the desperate game of backing the Italian-Spanish demands on France, seeking at once the fleets and the European and African bases of France and Spain. In the Mediterranean the Allied fleet constitutes the principal means of launching an attack on Hitler, just as it constitutes the principal means of defense, should Hitler seek to forestall that danger by cleaning up the Mediterranean and taking possession of North Africa.

It is clear, then, that Spain constitutes a decisive position, not only for control of the Mediterranean, but also for assuring the permanent stationing of the Allied fleet in that sea. Beyond the great strategic value of its coast and the Balearic Islands, Spain with its possessions in Morocco and Tangier is the western gateway of the Mediterranean.

But this is not all: should Malta be wiped out as a naval base, Gibraltar with Alexandria would be one of the two naval bases left to the Allies. Gibraltar is a rock, a pennon, of limited extension driven into the soil of Spain and absolutely vulnerable from all sides: from the side of the Spanish peninsula, and from Ceuta and Tangier directly opposite and some fourteen kilometers distant. The defense of Gibraltar would be more difficult than that of Singapore. An attack in overwhelming force might quickly result in absolutely closing this Mediterranean gateway, bottling up the Allied fleet and obliging it to concentrate in the sole remaining port of Alexandria. And it is not out of place here to recall that Franco, backed by Hitler, is demanding Gibraltar, just as yesterday he demanded—and since has taken—Tangier.

Defense of Africa—Spain constitutes the natural land approach for forces headed northward and bent on control of the Mediterranean, as for those bound for French equatorial Africa, whose coast dominates a good portion of the Central Atlantic. Its colony of Rio de Oro is an ideally situated base for an attack on Dakar.

Defense of the Atlantic—Along with Portugal, Spain has come to be the gateway of the Atlantic, and its coastline accordingly takes on an exceptional importance in the battle of the Atlantic. In addition, the ex-

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tremely favorable strategic situation of the Canary Islands, along with the Azores and Cape Verde, make those islands a dangerous threat, not only to the sealanes of the Atlantic, but in the case of an invasion of the New World, as well.

Political Significance—Spain invariably exerts a great influence upon the political development of other countries. Portugal, by reason of its geographical situation, its cultural affinities, etc., always displays a marked reaction to events that take place in Spain. The importance of Portugal is not to be measured by its metropolis, but rather by its strategic islands and its colonies. It is sufficient to recall its attitude during the Spanish national war: that of the government, which openly intervened on the side of Franco; and that of the people, who supported the Loyalists in so far as they could, even to the point of the Marine uprising in Lisbon, in 1936. It is sufficient, also, to recall the recent Franco-Salazar pacts.

France has equally close ties with Spain, owing to its geographic proximity and to the great spiritual affinity of the two peoples, especially since the Spanish national war. In the case of both France and Portugal Spain exerts a common influence of considerable magnitude.

The influence of political events in Spain is projected with especial force over the whole of Latin America; this, by reason of cultural bonds. We have the actual proof in every fifth-column movement in South America, where one has but to scrape the surface to find, not merely the inspiration, but the material direction of Franco and his cohorts.

Economic Significance—Spain constitutes an industrial base which is by no means to be despised, even though it is not a highly developed one. In the course of its national war a considerable wartime industry was evolved, along with a highly specialized handicraftsmanship. Spain's mineral wealth makes of it a most important source of raw materials necessary in time of war. It occupies first place in the world's production of mercury, and one of the first in the production of copper and lead. In addition it produces considerable quantities of tin and zinc and has rich veins of iron ore. In the production of potassium, also, its position is outstanding. And this is to cite only its more important resources.

It is likewise rich in agricultural wealth, especially in the matter of its olive crop, which represents 57 per cent of the world's production. German tanks in the U.S.S.R. have recently been lubricated with olive oil from Spain, and Hitler also takes advantage of the great Spanish industry of vegetable preserves in making up the stock of food supplies for his armies.

Its enormous strategic, economic and political importance means that Spain has a role to play: either in the service of Hitler as it has done up to now; or by serving as a point of support for the United Nations. No half-way solution is possible.

* * *

Let us begin by saying that, ac-

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tually, the former contingency is the one that confronts us. Spanish neutrality is a lie. *Present-day Spain* is a belligerent, and Franco a Hitler puppet, a species of Quisling or Laval.

There is nothing new in this, even though there is a campaign on to prove the contrary, a campaign inspired by the friends of Hitler and those who carry over Munichism, a campaign that began in the year 1936 and which continues to this day, throughout the world, and especially in the United States. The Spanish war was not a purely Spanish conflict, it was not merely a civil war. The Spanish people were defending themselves against the aggression of Hitler and Mussolini, who had been brought into Spain by Franco. It is obvious that Hitler and Mussolini did not send their troops to die on the fields of Spain, that they did not burn up vast quantities of war material and spend huge sums out of any romantic impulse. Each of them was participating in the Spanish war as a necessary stage in the planned conquest of the world. And that first first stage was won by the Axis. The Franco government was born without economic, political, or military independence. Its life has always been dependent upon those who really directed the war against the Spanish people.

This obvious fact has been ignored through that conspiracy of silence to which we have previously alluded; and if this silence has on recent occasion been broken, it has been in order to create the impression that there is a difference between Franco, who is pictured as the "good man," the enemy of aid to Hitler, and Serrano Suner, the Minister of Foreign Relations, who is depicted as the villain of the piece, the tool of the Nazis.

In this connection let us recall whither the "goodness" of the sinister Pétain has led! And let us speak up, loudly and at once, to say that this fallacy, which is given the lie a thousand times over by the facts, is one inspired by the Hitlerites themselves with the object of lulling the democracies to sleep. It is inspired with the object, further, of enabling the defeatists to justify and carry out their policy of appeasement, which, together with the "white glove" policy toward Franco, is making possible the colossal aid which the latter is rendering to Hitler. Following are a few proofs of what has been said above.

Franco has placed at Hitler's disposition all of Spain that might serve as a strategic position on sea or on the land. Franco is supplying Hitler with foodstuffs, minerals, armaments.

The Franco government signed the "Anti-Comintern" Pact, a military pact of aggressor nations, a pact for world domination. Franco has signed a secret treaty with Hitler, providing that Spain shall come to Germany's aid at any moment that it may be necessary. Franco invaded Tangier and organized the anti-British and anti-Allied demonstrations in Tangier and in Spain, demonstrations which more than once exceeded in intensity and violence those organized for the return of Gibraltar.

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Franco blames the hunger of the Spanish people on the British-American bloc of nations. He blames the United Nations for the sinking of his ships by the Axis—by agreement with the Axis. Franco organized anti-U.S. espionage in the Philippines, and the Falange played so prominent a part in the fifth column of Manila as to call forth the public felicitations of such an authority as Pilar Primo de Rivera.

Franco serves as a center for the network of intensified espionage throughout the Americas. He is Hitler's purchasing agent everywhere in the Americas.

Franco maintains an army permanently mobilized, and by way of fulfilling his promise to send a million men for Hitler's service—a promise recently made—he is now engaged in mobilizing 500,000 men.

Franco is sending to Germany herds of slaves, composed of Spanish workers whom Hitler needs in his war industries.

Franco Activities in the Latin American Countries—The affinities of language, custom and religious belief, and the bonds of sentiment and historic background, facilitate Franco's task of sabotage, which is summed up in the demagogic slogan: "*To aid the independence of the Latin American countries against the Yankee imperialists.*" He has powerful public and underground organizations, supplied with copious funds, and *with the enormous advantage of having at their disposal the whole of the diplomatic service.* Making intense use of these advantages, the Franco followers represent the most formidable source of strength that Hitler has in the Americas.

Franco is Hitler's purchasing agent, especially in Argentina, he is his agent for the work of sabotage, his political agent who, following Hitler's directions, endeavors to set the South American nations at loggerheads with the United States and with one another. He capitalizes upon and seeks to deepen race hatreds, and takes advantage of economic rivalries. We have an evidence of this in the fact that it is, in general, the Franco embassies and consulates which have taken over the diplomatic representation of those countries that are at war with the United States and with the Central and South American republics.

Another recent bit of evidence is the arrest in Cuba of Franco's personal agent, Luis Roldan Moreno, from whose hands the police have obtained documents that go to prove the existence of a continent-wide espionage network, under the guise of organizations of a cultural and charitable nature, such as the Social Aid (*Auxilio Social*). And still more recently, the aims which Franco's followers are pursuing were revealed to us by their attitude in connection with the Rio de Janeiro Conference. The Franco press, from the very first day, came out against the conference, against the union of the American countries, crying loudly that the conference was a maneuver on the part of the United States for subjugating the Latin American republics.

The Franco cohorts offered their services to those republics in "de-

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fending" them against Yankee imperialism; and the position adopted by Argentina and Chile shows that the Falange was not marking time. All these activities against continental security are directed by the Hispanic Council *(Consejo de Hispanidad)*, under the direction of the External Falange *(Falange Exterior)*, that is to say, by the Franco government, which is, in short, the tool of the Axis. This government is engaged in carrying out that subversive task concerning which the peoples of the Americas were warned, first by President Roosevelt, when, in his Lincoln's Birthday address he laid bare the Nazi plans for South America, and again by Vice President Wallace, when the latter said on May 8, 1942:

"We must be prepared for the worst kind of fifth-column work in Latin America, much of it operating through the agency of governments with which the United States at present is at peace."

Franco, Serrano Suner, the Falange—the entire Franco regime is *an active and consistent satellite of Hitler, a belligerent that is already in the war against the United Nations, without having declared war.* The nearer draws the threat of an Allied invasion of western and southern Europe, obliging Hitler to take such measures as he can, the nearer likewise draws the hour of open and total intervention in the war on the part of the Franco regime; that hour becomes ever more imminent.

But, it may be asked, if such is the dependency of Franco on Hitler, how does it come that the latter has not long ago compelled Spain to a full participation in the war? The reason, over and above all, is that the heroic struggle of the Spanish people makes such a course too dangerous, one that well might end in disaster and the risks of which would not make up for the advantages of a relative peace in this part of Europe, along with a much needed and assured wartime aid. A further reason is that, from the military point of view, Hitler up to now has been under no pressing necessity of adopting such a course, but might in this manner go on making use of the extremely valuable services in the way of espionage and provocation with which Franco has provided him, and continues to provide him, in the Americas, under cover of diplomatic and official relations with the United States and with the Latin American republics.

* * *

That silent and impressive struggle of the Spanish people which up to now has been the principal obstacle to Spain's being openly dragged into the war will be, also, the one force which may be able to prevent it in the future. In any event, should the fascists in their desperation hurl Spain into the catastrophe, it will be the one force capable of creating the worst possible conditions for the Nazis, and the one which, when all is said, will transform the country from a point of support for the Axis into a point of support for the United Na-

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tions. For in this struggle the interests of the overwhelming majority of the nation are involved; toward it the desires of all Spaniards converge, over and above parties, beliefs and classes; and every day all the forces of the nation come to participate in it in a more militant and decisive fashion, with one single and common objective in view, one that may be described as: *Fatherland, National Independence, Anti-Franco-ism, Anti-Hitlerism.*

* * *

One will never reach an understanding of the total extent and impact of those forces arrayed against Franco unless one knows well the unprecedented magnitude of the grief and catastrophe which Franco and his gangsters have brought upon Spain.

All sections of the public are suffering the worst disaster which Spain in all its history has ever known. The war which the fascists provoked by their uprising against the legal government of the country has cost hundreds of thousands of young lives. More than 800,000 Spanish patriots of all classes, all shades of religious and political belief, have been assassinated since the war came to a close. It is difficult to find a family which does not have at least one member among the victims. At the present time a million and a half are slowly dying in jails, concentration camps, and labor battalions.

The hunger in Spain has reached terrifying proportions, a fact which more than once has been published in the press of the United States. Epidemics of typhus, cholera, grippe and tuberculosis have become chronic. Prostitution now knows no bounds, and the great numbers of abandoned infants have compelled the Franco regime to take notice of the condition. Drunkenness has been transformed into a social plague. And all these are phenomena which have for cause the deadly hunger of the Spanish people.

The workers have lost all those democratic rights which were won in long years of struggle. There is no labor code, no legal workday, no established rate of pay; there is no social security, no sort of control over working conditions, which are hellish in character; there is nothing but the law of Franco. And when the worker does a day's work what he receives for it is not enough to enable him to buy on the Black Market sufficient bread for his family; while the official ration allotted to the whole family is not enough for one of his children alone. A typical example of all this is afforded by the case of the director of the "Duro-Felguera" Mining and Metallurgical Works, who, hard pressed by the workers, had recourse to the authorities, informing them that "the workers cannot go on working on bread and onions."

Aside from war production, industry in general has almost wholly disappeared, and shut-downs have reached a figure never known before; the major part of the working class is unemployed, and hunger and want are their inseparable companions. Moreover, the working

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class was the leading force of the Republic in Spain's national war, and the Franco regime vents its fury and its terror upon this class, deals the workers its fiercest blows. There are regions like Asturias where Franco is able to keep the proletariat in subjection only by resorting to military conscription.

The peasants also are the chosen victims of repression. Hundreds of thousands of them have been driven from their lands, and those who have had the luck to preserve their plots are subject to the constant requisitions and organized robbery of the Ministry of Supplies and the Falange, whose object it is to exercise a control over all production, in order that they minister to Hitler's needs and at the same time to a profitable business for themselves. Livestock is lacking for farm labor, along with fertilizers and farm implements, which, owing to the economic chaos produced by the Franco regime, cannot be imported. Never was production in the Spanish countryside at so low an ebb.

The petty bourgeoisie is ruined. The lack of raw materials, the lack of markets—for neither Hitler nor Franco is interested in any but war production—the lack of tools and machinery, the stock of which has not been replenished for years, for the simple reason that there was no way of replenishing it, have ended by smothering small industry.

Such primary raw materials as wood and steel must be purchased on the Black Market at a price ten times above normal. The same is true of small business. Government control of the entire agricultural and practically the whole of the industrial output—which is either sent to Hitler, by way of wiping out Franco's war debts, or in extremely limited quantities is doled out for the rationing of the population—has done away with the possibility of any kind of life for the small merchant.

At the same time, Franco has to keep up an army the size of which is out of all proportion to its efficiency; he has to defray the expenses of a war preparation that are out of all proportion to the economic capacity of Spain even in normal times; not to speak of a police force and a fabulous system of governmental repression, and not to mention all the Falangist upstarts who must be provided for, etc., etc. With the economy of the country pulverized, Franco has to raise the money for his budget from this ruined middle class and, basically, from the redoubled exploitation of the working class and the peasantry. The exorbitant fines and taxes are another cause of the small business man's inevitable ruin, and he has no alternative but to go on ruining himself or to go to jail as a "Red."

The majority of the bourgeoisie supported the Franco uprising against the Republic, in the hope of restraining the working class movement and of redoubling the exploitation of the workers—or with the hope, at least, of augmenting their own benefits. But the war took on the marked character of a struggle for national independence; and when Franco had temporarily achieved a victory, Spain was left

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totally subordinated to the interests of the Axis.

Her industries in general have accordingly been ruined, the exception being those war industries and others which Hitler has created, while assuring himself absolute control over them. Spanish capital and Spanish industry are lacking in the thing that is basically needed: *freedom of private enterprise,* and markets. The interests of the Spanish bourgeoisie were always bound up with those of the democracies. Even before the present situation arose, the bourgeoisie had seen that the path of dependence on Hitler was its ruin, and that its salvation lay with the democracies. Hence, those daily more open clashes between Franco and the bourgeosie, which tend to place the latter more and more on the side of the movement for national liberation, against the Axis and against Franco.

The Nationalities—Catalonia, the Basque Country, Galicia. The aspirations to autonomy which began to bear fruit with the Republic, have been frustrated, and for them has been substituted a special kind of terror which embraces all strata of society and which affects all aspects of the national life: suppression of the statutes, prohibition of native tongues, and the attempt to transplant the Catalonian textile industry to other regions. Among these nationalities, more than in any other part of Spain, practically the entire population is against Franco.

In Religious Circles discontent is all the time growing. Christian sentiments have been barbarously outraged by Franco's incessant terror; by the bestial treatment which, in the occupied countries and in Germany itself, Hitler is according to Catholics and even to Church authorities; by that Hitlerian paganism which is hatching in the corrupt circles of Falangism. The Vatican's opposition to Hitlerian ideology contributes to this discontent; and a factor of special force is the frequent jailings and shootings of innumerable priests, chiefly those of the Basque country.

In Military Circles confusion and discontent continue to grow unceasingly. The soldiers and military classes, who form a part of the suffering people, in addition to living a life of hunger, want, and terror in the barracks, live also under the constant threat of having to go to fight Hitler's battles.

Among officers and military leaders, including generals, the confusion and discontent continue to grow, for the reason that, with the exception of a small bedecorated minority who constitute Franco's own clique, the majority, since the war came to a close, have failed to see their ambitions satisfied. Many of them preserve e sentiment of national honor, and their military pride is deeply offended by Franco's political dependency and by Nazi intervention in the Spanish army.

The mighty blows struck by the Red Army have undermined their belief in the invincibility of the Nazis, and they have been further disillusioned by Hitler's treatment of the Blue Division, the same treatment that would be accorded to a horde of slaves. Finally, the entrance of the United States into

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the war is having an ever wider effect upon them, and is confirming in them the belief *that the Axis cannot win the war.*

The combined might of the U.S.S.R., England, the United States and the rest of the United Nations has changed the opinion of vast sections of the military, who today, so long as Spain is yoked to the Axis, can see nothing but catastrophe ahead.

All these things that have been enumerated indicate an opposition to Franco's regime which by now has become general. The best proof of this is to be found in a declaration made by Franco himself recently, in an address to the monks of Montserrat, when he said: "Spain has a Leader and an army, but it does not yet have a people."

The truth is, all the working class and republican parties, all the nationalists, including Catholics and conservatives, are against the present government. To be added to these are certain strata, every day more numerous, composed of elements which at one time were with Franco, but who have been disillusioned by his policy of total subservience to Berlin.

* * *

This opposition is not by any means a Platonic one, but finds its most eloquent expression in the violent struggle of the people. For five or six years past, thousands of *guerrilleros,* in the mountains of Asturias, Santander, Extremadura and Andalucia, have held high the banner of struggle against fascism.

In regions like Asturias, Franco has been obliged not only to maintain a permanent state of war, but to keep his military forces in constant action. The daily railway "accidents" have obliged him to issue a decree, in accordance with which the entire crew of a train that meets with an "accident" is hauled before the Council of War, and frequently is shot.

The war factories, such as the Manjoya Works in Asturias and the Pirotecnica in Seville, have been blown up by the people; stores of gasoline, as in Alicante, have been set ablaze; ships laden with material of war like the *Monte Amboto,* in the capital of the Canaries, have been scuttled; food supply depots of the Falange throughout Spain have been stormed, specially in Madrid, Balboa, Seville, Barcelona and Albacete; cargoes of food destined for Germany have been burned, as in Barcelona, or taken by storm and distributed among the people, as in Tolosa (Giupuzcoa); fascist invaders and Falangist leaders have been physically eliminated, as in Vigo and Puente de Vallecas (Madrid); the Falangist Minister of Labor Giron barely escaped a recent attempt on his life; and throughout Spain the women and the population in general stage violent demonstrations against the sending of combatants to the Soviet front or workers to Germany; they stop the trains which carry such troops and engage in acts of violent sabotage.

But the tone of the opposition as a whole is best set by the failure to recruit men for the famous Blue Division, made up of a handful of

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Falangists, adventurers, regular army soldiers who had been compelled to enlist and prisoners forcibly taken from tne concentration camps.

Throughout the length and breadth of Spain, despite the unbridled reign of terror, the struggle grows and develops—against the present state of things, against the Franco terror, against hunger and, above all, against the steps which Franco is taking to drag Spain into the war on the side of the Axis. Among the popular forces this struggle bears always the stamp of the deepest feeling of anti-fascist unity; and the realization that unity is the prime condition for victory has won over even the most hesitant.

It is, naturally, the working class which gives the most conscious and organized tone to this struggle. From primitive forms of combat, spontaneous and unorganized, the proletariat is now going on to planned and directed battles. The strike, a weapon which the Spanish proletariat employed with great intensity and efficacy in the pre-war years, has made its appearance once more. The miners of Asturias and Mazarron and the paving workers of Murcia are among those who have taken this path.

In some cases, as in the Camocha mine, in Asturias, the battle ended in the midst of a bloody repression, with twenty-two workers being shot; but in other cases, as with the miners of Mazarron and the pavers of Murcia, the workers won a victory. From the strike they go on to street demonstrations, as in the case of the Vigo fishwomen, who refused to go on selling fish, unless they were given full freedom to dispose of their stock. As a result of the first demonstration, four of their number were arrested; whereupon a committee was formed which renewed the struggle on a broader scale, with the result that they won the freedom of those imprisoned.

As for the peasants, they hide their harvests and refuse to hand them over; they resist those who come to requisition their produce, and sometimes do away with them physically, as happened in a village of Salamanca, where a commission of four Germans was exterminated. The peasants limit the sowing to their own necessities, and the little that they sell is disposed of clandestinely, as a means of sabotaging the regime.

The middle class carries on a struggle by circumventing the measures of the regime, in a manner previously described.

The opposition of the greater part of Spanish capital—in addition to what has already been said on this subject—is indicated by the fact that the government has not been able to cover its various internal levies, the returns in such strong centers of capital as Catalonia and Euskadi being ridiculous in the extreme.

The opposition of a large part of the bourgeoisie is further to be explained by the attitude of one section of the Church, an attitude that found expression recently in the pastoral letter of the Bishop of Logrono, which was read in the churches, and which contained an

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unqualified condemnation of Hitlerism.

Yet another clear indication of the general unrest is to be seen in the conspirings of certain individual generals, the latest and most notable of which led to the jailing of three of them, including Espinoso de los Monteros, Franco's recent ambassador to Berlin.

This growing discontent creates for the Franco regime an instability that becomes every day more insupportable, and which obliges Franco to yield more and more to Hitler, by hanging his own fate on the adventures of the Axis.

* * *

In the interior of the country there exists an enthusiastic desire for unity; all the struggles great or small bear the unmistakable imprint of unity, even though it is a unity that has not yet attained a sufficiently high degree of organization, owing to the fact that the majority of the anti-Franco parties —exception being made of the Communist Party—have not been capable of organizing their forces.

Abroad, many leaders of organizations well rooted in the national life are either unmindful of their obligation to struggle or, at the worst, fail to respond to the urgent demand for unity by their own party followers in Spain. This at the same time makes it possible for certain dangerous ideas and ideological currents to take hold of sections of the masses at home: as, for example, the idea that Franco's unbridled terror makes impossible any active struggle, any organization of the masses, and that the overthrow of Franco must come from without; those who hold to such a view feel assured that the United Nations will defeat fascism, and that it is, accordingly, unnecessary to run the risks of struggle, it being better to wait passively.

Quite recently there has been set up in Mexico, in a formal and definite manner, the Democratic Union of Spain (Union Democratica Espanola), composed of the Republican, Communist and Socialist Parties, the P.S.U. (Unified Socialist Party), and the U.G.T. (General Union of Workers). This organization has made public its fundamental aim, which is the reconquest of the independence of Spain, upon the basis of the restoration of constitutional legality. All this, however, is very recent; up to now those very forces which for three years defended the Republic have been divided and separated.

And even today, following the setting up of the U.D.E. in Mexico, the same forces and parties which go to form the organization continue to be separated in other countries; while even in Mexico there are fractions of some of these parties—for instance, Prieto in the Socialist Party—who continue to maintain an attitude hostile to unity. On the other hand, organizations such as the anarcho-syndicalist C.N.T. (National Confederation of Labor) and the Basque and Catalonian national parties remain on the edge of the movement.

This situation is aggravated by the lamentable fact that legal Spain

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has no authorized governmental voice that might make itself heard within the United Nations, while at the same time giving orientation and directness to the struggle at home.

The Negrin government is the sole organism with the attributes for assuming the representation of the Republic, the sole one to speak in the name of Spanish legality, and it continues without organizational form, while its most authoritative voices, such as those of Dr. Negrin in London and of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sr. Alvarez del Vayo, in the United States, go unheard.

To this factionalism among the republican forces and the lack of a formal existence on the part of the legal government of the Republic is to be added the confusion which exists among a large portion of the bourgeoisie, the Church and the army. Enemies of the Hitler influence in Spain, and feeling that their interests are closely linked with those of the United Nations, these elements think to get out of the matter through a unilateral solution of one sort or another; they think of monarchical restorations, military governments, etc., being unable to realize that either Spain will be dragged into the Hitlerian holocaust with Franco, or the independence of the country will have off the domination which Hitler actually exercises over the country. They cannot be brought to understand that this is only possible through a war of liberation, for which a unified grouping of all those national forces which stand for the defense of Spain is indispensable.

Touching on the question of unity, and taking into account the value of opinions held by Spanish political emigrés with respect to internal affairs, Pasionaria recently issued a solemn call, declaring:

"In view of the actual state of affairs to which the opposition within Spain bears witness, the question arises: What are the Spanish emigrés waiting for, so far as the organization of unity is concerned, when the way is being shown us from within the country itself?"

And addressing herself to the Communists, she goes on to say:

"If any Communist, basing himself upon a sectarian point of view, should raise any obstacle in the path of unity, such a Communist would not be fulfilling his duty."

This counsel completely fits the line of conduct that is being followed by the Communist Party, in Spain and abroad.

The Communist Party has not ceased its efforts to achieve a union of all the anti-Franco forces outside the country, together with a reconstruction of the government of the Republic. In a manifesto issued August 1, 1941, it called for a National Union, from which were to be excluded none but the agents of Hitler, the Trotskyites, and those who, in conjunction with Casado, had handed the Republic over to Hitler.

In accordance with the spirit of this call, the Communist Party, in France, England, Africa, as well as

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over the whole of the American continent, has labored, and labors unceasingly, to see that National Union is transformed into a reality. The birth of the Democratic Union in Mexico is the first victorious step along this path, and it is to be hoped it is one which will be extended to all points where Spanish anti-Franco emigres are to be found.

In the interior of Spain, also, the Communist Party never desists from its labors for unity, but raises as the objective of struggle the overthrow of Franco, and this in spite of Franco's unbelievable reign of terror, which is concentrated first of all upon the Communists. The Communist Party has traversed during the past three years a path filled with obstacles. Innumerable leaders, among them a dozen members of the Party's Central Committee, have fallen while directing the struggle within the country, all of them having been shot or assassinated.

Among these was Comrade Isidoro Dieguez, member of the Political Bureau, who returned from abroad to a post of party leadership in the interior. Thousands upon thousands of rank-and-file Communists have also fallen in the course of this glorious and stubborn struggle. Yet, in spite of the terror, the Communist Party of Spain has succeeded in achieving a national organization, with branches in nearly every province, from which it has spread to the vital points of the country.

The voice of the party, through its underground organ, *Mundo Obrero*, is ceaselessly pointing out to the masses the path of struggle for national unity against Franco, against the terror of the ruling regime, and for the Republic.

In this uninterrupted struggle of our party and our people lies our authority for saying that we Spaniards do not feel that the freedom of our native land is to be the result of other peoples' efforts. We know, and in this knowledge shape our work, in accordance with the solemn admonition of our beloved Communist leader, the recently deceased José Diaz — we know that victory over Franco and the reconquest of independence are, basically, something to be achieved by the Spanish people themselves. Beyond this, we possess a clear consciousness of our international obligations and of the contribution which we must make in conjunction with the United Nations to the general struggle to save the world from Hitlerism.

* * *

The Spanish people's struggle, however, as during the period of our national war, is not a problem for Spaniards alone; it is part of that war which humanity is waging to avoid Hitlerian slavery. If the general course of the war is of concern to Spaniards, for the attainment of their ends, the struggle of the Spanish people is the concern of all countries interested in victory.

Recently, Under-Secretary of State Sumner Welles gave assurance that the Atlantic Charter is to be the fundamental law, outcome

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of a United Nations victory. The third point of the Atlantic Charter reads as follows:

"They respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live, and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them."

These are the objectives of the Spanish people. To restore the government of the people, which was set up by them, is to re-establish Spanish legality, born of a popular suffrage democratic in character.

The point must be stressed that there is no solution of the Spanish question in accordance with the Atlantic Charter which does not envisage the restoration of the legitimate government of the Republic; just as, conversely, the United Nations will never be completely loyal to the Atlantic Charter so long as they do not support and recognize the Negrin government.

An attempt is made to justify the continuation of an appeasement policy toward Franco Spain upon the ridiculous theory that it has thus far kept Franco from entering the war on Hitler's side. This contention ignores the fact that up to now Franco has given Hitler everything the latter wanted, and that the only thing which has prevented him from giving more is the Spanish people's struggle,

Appeasement not only has permitted Hitler to take advantage of all of Spain's strategic, economic and political resources, but it is, moreover, the fount of inspiration of those tendencies and illusions concerning the possibility of being saved from Franco through the efforts of the United Nations alone, the possibility of setting up a monarchical government, a military government—every variety of anti-popular possibility imaginable.

It is appeasement that goes to explain the vacillations of many highly placed republican personalities, who are delaying the work of organizing the union of national forces, and who put obstacles in the path of reconstituting the Negrin government.

It is thanks to appeasement that a good part of the Spanish people, struggling under the unbridled terror of Franco and the Gestapo, are filled with misgivings as they behold the British and American embassies in Madrid, seeing in this a continuation of the "non-intervention" and Munich policies which have cost them so dearly.

When the possibilities of opening a second front in Europe are being considered, insufficient attention is paid to one of the most important factors, which is the presence of peoples ready to rise in arms on the first occasion that offers. In the concrete instance of Spain, the fact is ignored that the opening of an Allied Western front in France or on any other part of the European coast would bring with it, as a consequence, the immediate uprising of the Spanish people, who after three years of war are equipped with the most complete military preparation, from the technical as well as the moral point of view.

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Taking all this into consideration, appeasement of Franco has been and remains truly a crime. It is not admissible that today the reflections of Munich should cast their baleful light on Spain. It is not admissible that, when the life and death of the peoples are at stake, we should ignore the enormous value of Spain, which is being made use of by Hitler, but which we ourselves ought to be utilizing. It is not permitted us to shudder over the murders of Soviet, French, Polish, Norwegian, Czech and other patriots, or over the hunger and misery of other peoples, when we fail to realize that millions of Spanish patriots for the past six years have been falling, massacred by the same assassins, while for six years past the Spanish people have been enduring the same hunger and misery at the same identical hands as the other peoples of Europe.

Appeasement of Franco Spain must end. The victory of the United Nations demands this. Their loyalty to the Atlantic Charter demands it. And to end the appeasement of Spain means to break off diplomatic relations with Franco, and to deal with an iron hand with all of Franco's machinations, through his official representatives, in the Americas. It means to recognize the Negrin Government and to accord it every facility for speeding the struggle of the Spanish people. And it is obvious that the working class, which is in the driving force of the campaign for the Western Front, must likewise be in the lead in the struggle against appeasement. To have done once and for all with this dangerous absurdity is to accomplish a highly important work for the Second Front and, thereby, for victory in 1942.

The Spanish people are on a military footing, to free themselves from Franco and the Falangist bandits in this year 1942. They have absolute faith in the triumph of the United Nations. Their struggle has been extraordinarily intensified since the aggression on the land of socialism. Every Spaniard feels in his heart a sympathy and love for the U.S.S.R. No other people knows so well *from experience* the liberating role of the glorious Soviet peoples, who rendered Spain such magnificent aid in her struggle.

Inspired by the glorious example of the Red Army, the partisans and the entire Soviet people; at one with the feelings and struggle of the peoples subject to the barbarous Nazi yoke; identifying themselves with the democratic war aims of the United Nations, the Spanish people are struggling and will continue to struggle, building the forces of national unity against Franco, until final victory shall have been achieved over the Brown Beast and its puppet Franco, being assured of the re-establishment of those liberties wrested from them by force—by the enslaving forces of Nazism.

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HISTORIC DOCUMENTS

THE WHITE HOUSE STATEMENT ON THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND SOVIET FOREIGN COMMISSAR V. M. MOLOTOV

THE people's Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Mr. V. M. Molotov, following the invitation of the President of the United States of America, arrived in Washington on May 29 and was for some time the President's guest. This visit to Washington afforded an opportunity for a friendly exchange of views between the President and his advisors on the one hand and Mr. V. M. Molotov and his party on the other.

Among those who participated in the conversations were the Soviet Ambassador in the United States, Mr. Maxim Litvinoff, Mr. Harry Hopkins, Chief of Staff Gen. Marshall, and Commander-in-Chief of the United States Navy, Admiral Ernest J. King. Mr. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, joined in subsequent conversations on non-military matters.

In the course of the conversations full understanding was reached with regard to the urgent tasks of creating a second front in Europe in 1942. In addition, the measures for increasing and speeding up the supplies of planes, tanks and other kinds of war materials from the United States to the Soviet Union were discussed. Further were discussed the fundamental problems of cooperation of the Soviet Union and the United States in safeguarding peace and security to the freedom-loving peoples after the war. Both sides state with satisfaction the unity of their views on all these questions.

At the conclusion of the visit the President asked Mr. Molotov to inform Mr. Stalin on his behalf that he feels these conversations have been most useful in establishing a basis for fruitful and closer relationship between the two governments in the pursuit of the common objectives of the United Nations.

THE UNITED STATES-SOVIET AGREEMENT

WHEREAS the Governments of the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics declare that they are engaged in a cooperative undertaking, together with every other nation or people of like mind, to the end of laying the bases of a just and enduring world peace securing order under law to themselves and all nations;

And whereas the Governments of the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Re-

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publics, as signatories of the declaration by the United Nations of January 1, 1942, have subscribed to a common program of purposes and principles embodied in the joint declaration, known as the Atlantic Charter, made on August 14, 1941, by the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the basic principles of which were adhered to by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on September 24, 1941;

And whereas the President of the United States of America has determined, pursuant to the act of Congress of March 11, 1941, that the defense of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics against aggression is vital to the defense of the United States of America;

And whereas the United States of America has extended and is continuing to extend to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and in resisting aggression;

And whereas it is expedient that the final determination of the terms and conditions upon which the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics receives such aid and of the benefits to be received by the United States of America in return therefor should be deferred until the extent of the defense aid is known and until the progress of events makes clearer the final terms and conditions and benefits which will be in the mutual interests of the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and will promote the establishment and maintenance of world peace;

And whereas the Governments of the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics are mutually desirous of concluding now a preliminary agreement in regard to the provision of defense aid and in regard to certain considerations which shall be taken into account in determining such terms and conditions and the making of such an agreement has been in all respects duly authorized, and all acts, conditions and formalities which it may have been necessary to perform, fulfill or execute prior to the making of such an agreement in conformity with the laws either of the United States of America or of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics have been performed, fulfilled or executed as required;

The undersigned, being duly authorized by their respective governments for that purpose, have agreed as follows:

Article I

The Government of the United States of America will continue to supply the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics with such defense articles, defense services, and defense information as the President of the United States of America shall authorize to be transferred or provided.

Article II

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will continue to contribute to the defense of the United States of America and the strengthening thereof, and will provide such articles, services, facilities or information as it may be in a position to supply.

Article III

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will

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not without the consent of the President of the United States of America transfer title to or possession of any defense article or defense information transferred to it under the Act of March 11, 1941, of the Congress of the United States of America, or permit the use thereof by any one not an officer, employee, or agent of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Article IV

If, as a result of the transfer to the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of any defense article or defense information it becomes necessary for that government to take any action or make any payment in order fully to protect any of the rights of a citizen of the United States of America who has patent rights in and to any such defense article or information, the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will take such action or make such payment when requested to do so by the President of the United States of America.

Article V

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will return to the United States of America, at the end of the present emergency, as determined by the President of the United States of America, such defense articles transferred under this agreement as shall not have been destroyed, lost or consumed and as shall be determined by the President to be useful in the defense of the United States of America or of the Western Hemisphere or to be otherwise of use to the United States of America.

Article VI

In the final determination of the benefits to be provided to the United States of America by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics full cognizance shall be taken of all property, services, information, facilities, or other benefits or considerations provided by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics subsequent to March 11, 1941, and accepted or acknowledged by the President on behalf of the United States of America.

Article VII

In the final determination of the benefits to be provided to the United States of America by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in return for aid furnished under the Act of Congress of March 11, 1941, the terms and conditions thereof shall be such as not to burden commerce between the two countries, but to promote mutually advantageous economic relations between them and the betterment of world-wide economic relations. To that end, they shall include provision for agreed action by the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, open to participation by all other countries of like mind, directed to the expansion by appropriate international and domestic measures, of production, employment, and the exchange and consumption of goods, which are the material foundations of the liberty and welfare of all peoples; to the elimination of all forms of discriminatory treatment in international commerce, and to the reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers; and, in general, to the attain-

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ment of all the economic objectives set forth in the joint declaration made on August 14, 1941, by the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, the basic principles of which were adhered to by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on September 24, 1941.

At an early convenient date, conversations shall be begun between the two governments with a view to determining, in the light of governing economic conditions, the best means of attaining the above-stated objectives by their own agreed action and of seeking the agreed action of other like-minded governments.

Article VIII

This agreement shall take effect as from this day's date. It shall continue in force until a date to be agreed upon by the two governments.

Signed and sealed at Washington in duplicate this eleventh day of June, 1942.

For the Government of the United States of America,
CORDELL HULL,
Secretary of State of the United States of America.

For the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,
MAXIM LITVINOFF,
Ambassador of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics at Washington.

DECLARATION OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT IN ANNOUNCING THE UNITED STATES-SOVIET AGREEMENT

THE agreement is an additional link in the chain of solidarity being forged by the United Nations in their two-fold task of prosecuting the war against aggression to a successful conclusion and of creating a new and better world.

The agreement reaffirms this country's determination to continue to supply in ever-increasing amounts aid to the Soviet Union in the war against the common enemy. The agreement also provides for such reciprocal aid as the Soviet Union may be in a position to supply. But no matter how great this aid may prove to be, it will be small in comparison with the magnificent contribution of the Soviet Union's armed forces to the defeat of the common enemy.

THE TWENTY-YEAR SOVIET-BRITISH MUTUAL ASSISTANCE TREATY

HIS Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions Beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, and the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics;

Desiring to confirm the stipulations of the agreement between His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the Government of

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the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for joint action in the war against Germany signed at Moscow, July 12, 1941, and to replace them by formal treaty;

Desiring to contribute after the war to the maintenance of peace and to the prevention of further aggression by Germany or the States associated with her in acts of aggression in Europe;

Desiring, moreover, to give expression to their intention to collaborate closely with one another as well as with the other United Nations at the peace settlement and during the ensuing period of reconstruction on a basis of the principles enunciated in the declaration made August 14, 1941, by the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of Great Britain, to which the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has adhered;

Desiring finally to provide for mutual assistance in the event of attack upon either high contracting party by Germany or any of the States associated with her in acts of aggression in Europe;

Have decided to conclude a treaty for that purpose and have appointed as their plenipotentiaries:

His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions Beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, for the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland:

The Right Hon. Anthony Eden, M.P., His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs;

The Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

M. Vyacheslav Mikhailovitch Molotov, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs,

Who, having communicated their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

PART ONE

Article I

In virtue of the alliance established between the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the high contracting parties mutually undertake to afford one another military and other assistance and support of all kinds in war against Germany and all those States which are associated with her in acts of aggression in Europe.

Article II

The high contracting parties undertake not to enter into any negotiations with the Hitlerite Government or any other government in Germany that does not clearly renounce all aggression intentions, and not to negotiate or conclude, except by mutual consent, any armistice or peace treaty with Germany or any other State associated with her in acts of aggression in Europe.

PART TWO

Article III

1. The high contracting parties declare their desire to unite with other like-minded States in adopting proposals for common action to preserve peace and resist aggression in the post-war period.

2. Pending adoption of such proposals, they will after termination of hostilities take all measures in their power to render impossible the repetition of aggression and violation of peace by Germany or any of the States associated with her in acts of aggression in Europe.

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Article IV

Should either of the high contracting parties during the post-war period become involved in hostilities with Germany or any of the States mentioned in Article III, Section 2, in consequence of the attack by that State against that party, the other high contracting party will at once give to the contracting party so involved in hostilities all military and other support and assistance in his power.

This article shall remain in force until the high contracting parties, by mutual agreement, shall recognize that it is superseded by adoption of proposals contemplated in Article III, Section 1. In default of adoption of such proposals, it shall remain in force for a period of twenty years and thereafter until terminated by either high contracting party as provided in Article VIII.

Article V

The high contracting parties, having regard to the interests of security of each of them, agree to work together in close and friendly collaboration after re-establishment of peace for the organization of security and economic prosperity in Europe.

They will take into account the interests of the United Nations in these objects and they will act in accordance with the two principles of not seeking territorial aggrandizement for themselves and of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States.

Article VI

The high contracting parties agree to render one another all possible economic assistance after the war.

Article VII

Each high contracting party undertakes not to conclude any alliance and not to take part in any coalition directed against the other high contracting party.

Article VIII

The present treaty is subject to ratification in the shortest possible time and instruments of ratification shall be exchanged in Moscow as soon as possible.

It comes into force immediately on the exchange of instruments of ratification and shall thereupon replace the agreement between the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom signed at Moscow July 12, 1941.

Part One of the present treaty shall remain in force until the re-establishment of peace between the high contracting parties and Germany and the powers associated with her in acts of aggression in Europe.

Part Two of the present treaty shall remain in force for a period of twenty years. Thereafter, unless twelve months' notice has been given by either party to terminate the treaty at the end of the said period of twenty years, it shall continue in force until twelve months after either high contracting party shall have given notice to the other in writing of his intention to terminate it.

In witness whereof the above-named plenipotentiaries have signed the present treaty and have affixed thereto their seals.

Done in duplicate in London on the 26th day of May, 1942, in the Russian and English languages, both texts being equally authentic.

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SPEECH BY V. M. MOLOTOV ON THE OCCASION OF THE SIGNING OF THE SOVIET-BRITISH MUTUAL ASSISTANCE TREATY

MR. CHURCHILL, gentlemen: The treaty between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Great Britain of alliance in the war against Hitlerite Germany and her accomplices in Europe, and of cooperation and mutual assistance after the war, which I have just had the honor of signing in the name of the Government of the U.S.S.R., represents an important political landmark in the development of relations between Great Britain and the Soviet Union.

The treaty between us is essential not only to the people of the U.S.S.R. and Great Britain but also to the peoples who have experienced the aggression of the German Fascist imperialists or whose freedom and honor have been threatened and may still be threatened by the Hitlerite band of robers, oppressors and ravishers—all of these will express their satisfaction at the conclusion of this historic treaty.

Our Allies all over the world will share with us the warmest feelings of satisfaction. Our treaty is indispensable in order the more quickly to insure the destruction of Hitlerite Germany and to attain our desired aim—victory.

The present treaty also determines the common line of action of the Soviet Union and Great Britain after the war. The fact that this treaty operates for a period of twenty years and is based on mutual military and economic assistance against possible further aggression on the part of Germany, and is intended to insure the security and economic well-being of the peoples of Europe, speaks for itself.

Hitler and his accomplices in their blood-stained robbery of Europe will now feel more than ever that the united forces of their adversaries have been rallied and strengthened. So much the better for us, for our peoples and for our common cause.

This treaty signifies and contains much more than the Anglo-Soviet agreement of last year.

The treaty of May 26, 1942, marks a new and important stage in the development of Anglo-Soviet relations on the basis of alliance and mutual military assistance against our common and irreconcilable foe, both of today and of the future, in Europe. It provides a desired basis for joint action after the war, thus greatly adding to its importance.

It is still further necessary that what relates to the present day in this treaty is already successfully being realized and carried into effect.

Such a treaty will be welcomed with great satisfaction by the masses of the Soviet Union, where, under the direction of their great leader and supreme commander, J. V. Stalin, the Red Army is carrying on a heroic struggle against the German invaders, confident in the belief that the time is not far distant when our just cause will achieve full victory.

Please accept, Mr. Prime Minister Churchill and Mr. Secretary Eden, to whom the present treaty owes so much, my sincere gratitude for the active part you have taken at all stages.

I express my sincere personal

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gratitude to His Majesty's Government for the hospitality shown to me, the representative of the Government of the U.S.S.R.

In conclusion I wish to express my firm conviction that the treaty which has been signed today well serves the cause of our victory, the cause of the great future of our two peoples.

SPEECH BY ANTHONY EDEN ON THE OCCASION OF THE SIGNING OF THE SOVIET-BRITISH MUTUAL ASSISTANCE TREATY

ON BEHALF of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom I welcome you, M. Molotov, as Foreign Secretary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

We are met in a world at war when our two countries are together at grips with a common enemy. Under the impact of war we have found that understanding which escaped us in the uneasy years of peace. The treaty which we have just signed engages us to continue the struggle together until the victory be won. On behalf of my colleagues, I give you a pledge that there will be no wavering in this endeavor on the part of the government or the people of these islands.

Such then is the first chapter of our task, the overthrow of Hitler and the destruction of all that his regime stands for. But there is a second chapter also to our treaty. One day the war will end. One day the common enemy will be defeated and there will be peace again. We must see to it that this time the peace endures. In the treaty which we have signed we pledge ourselves to work together for this purpose.

Never before in the history of our two countries has our association been so close or our mutual pledge for the future so complete. This is surely a happy augury. There is nothing exclusive in our agreement. We are seeking peace and security, not only for our two countries but for all the United Nations. But understanding between us is one of the foundations of peace, not for us alone but for the world. We have signed our treaty and part of the work is behind us.

I would like to say now, M. Molotov, how much we have valued the statemanship and insight which you have shown in our negotiations. I would like, too, to thank M. Maisky, your Ambassador, who has done so much in his years here to build the bridge between our two countries.

Part of the work is behind us. But the greater part yet lies ahead. There is the war to win.

You yourself, M. Molotov, are leaving our shores for the United States. Upon the cooperation of the Soviet Union, the United States of America and the British Commonwealth the future of mankind will largely depend.

We thank you for your work with us here and we wish you well upon your journey.

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